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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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8 September 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### MAGYAR HIRLAP REVIEWS ANDROPOV ANTHOLOGY

[Editorial Report] AU221337--Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian on 19 August 83 on page 2 carries an 1,100-word Endre Szalipszki review, entitled "Thoughts on Yuriy Andropov's Book; For Peace, For Socialism," of the anthology of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary recently published in Hungarian by the Kossuth book publishers. More than half of the review is devoted to Andropov's remarks on the Soviet economy--including problems, tasks, and the need for discipline--and it includes a lengthy passage on Soviet "disarmament initiatives."

Szalipszki says the following on Eastern bloc differences: "As for the relations of a new type that have developed among the socialist countries, the past 2 decades have enriched the concepts we have formed on this and have vividly shown how multihued and complex this world is. 'There are great differences between individual socialist countries in the economy and culture and ways and means for resolving tasks of socialist development. This is natural even if it did seem to us in times past that this process would be one developing on a single plane,' stated the CPSU Central Committee general secretary."

CSO: 2500/416

FRG COMMENT ON GDR RELATIONS WITH PRC

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 16 No 7, Jul 83 (signed to press 24 Jun 83)  
pp 687-691

[Article by Peter Jochen Winters: "On Relations between the GDR and China"]

[Text] On 16 June, the SED central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND carried an ADN report from Peking which said the Chinese deputy foreign minister Qian Qichen had given a press report in Peking on his visit in Hungary, Poland and the GDR. ADN reported that "the minister pointed out he had been very well received by the governments in those countries. Talks with the foreign ministry officials in those three countries had led to greater mutual understanding." The deputy foreign minister had accompanied the Chinese party boss Hu Yaobang on his first foreign trip in May to Romania and Yugoslavia and had subsequently gone to the three Warsaw Pact countries referred to. A comment from the Chinese side had been that the deputy foreign minister had inspected the PRC embassies in Hungary, Poland and the GDR.

Deputy foreign minister Qian Qichen belongs to the younger leadership generation in the PRC. Born in 1928 in Shanghai, he studied at the Comsomol Academy in Moscow in 1955 and started his diplomatic career at the PRC embassy in Moscow, where he worked from 1956 to 1962. From 1974 to 1976 he was the ambassador to Guinea and then, up to his appointment as deputy foreign minister a year ago, worked as the director of the foreign ministry's information section in Peking. At the 12th CCP Congress in September last year he was chosen a Central Committee candidate. Since October 1982 Qian Qichen has led the PRC's negotiations with the Soviet Union--called "consultations" by both sides--to normalize the state relations between the two countries. After the first round of talks, held in Peking in October last year after conversations had been interrupted because of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, and after the second round in March in Moscow, the third round is to be held once again in Peking. The date for it is not firm yet, however. Thus deputy foreign minister Qian Qichen is the right man when it comes to normalizing PRC relations also with the East European states that are allies of the Soviet Union. He knows how sensitive the Soviet Union is and that the improvement of official relations, which is wanted as much by Hungary, Poland and the GDR as by China, is possible only to the extent that Moscow grants to its allies. Therefore the Chinese deputy foreign minister has done what he could so his trip to East Europe would not look like something undertaken against the Soviet Union, as an attempt perhaps to encourage those states to assume a more independent policy vis-a-vis Moscow--following the Romanian model.

According to the Chinese embassy in East Berlin, deputy foreign minister Qian Qichen spent several days in the GDR in May. The GDR did not officially announce how long, ADN only spoke of a "stay in the GDR."<sup>1</sup> While he was there, however, the deputy foreign minister was not only at his embassy at East Berlin's Heinrich Mann Strasse. He took a tour through East Berlin and inspected cultural and agricultural sights in Potsdam Bezirk. He also found time for a talk with the first deputy GDR minister for foreign affairs, State Secretary Herbert Krolikowski, and for a courtesy call at Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer. What the talks between Qian and Fischer and Krolikowski were all about was revealed by neither side. They were merely registered to have taken place by ADN.<sup>2</sup> Yet it can be accepted as certain that they agreed on making the fullest use of the slim leeway the GDR has as Warsaw Pact and CEMA member to improve their bilateral relations. To that end, the athletic and cultural relations resumed a year ago are as much to be further extended as their commercial relations. They are proceeding with caution, to be sure, to avoid being too hasty and causing suspicion in Moscow.

### Up and Down

By the end of the 1950's, good contacts in almost all areas had developed between the PRC and the GDR, their diplomatic relations having been uninterrupted since 25 October 1949. There was brisk trade (the foreign trade turnover in 1960 came to circa 829 million valuta mark, China being the GDR's fifth largest trade partner at the time),<sup>3</sup> an important exchange of students and scientists, and there were close political contacts. After the then Chinese Premier and Foreign Minister Chou En-lai had visited the GDR in July 1954, a GDR government delegation headed by the then Prime Minister Grotewohl went to China in December 1955. During that visit both countries signed a friendship and cooperation treaty. In January 1959 Grotewohl went to China again, and May that year a People's Chamber delegation headed by its then President Dieckmann went to Peking. In the Sino-Soviet conflict, which broke out in the early 1960's, the GDR, without reservation, took the side of the Soviet Union. After relevant resolutions taken at the Sixth SED Congress in January 1963, the relations between China and the GDR deteriorated more and more. They reached their lowest point in the late 1960's and early 1970's, and that affected their trade as well. In 1965 the foreign trade turnover between the two countries only came to 216 million valuta mark, in 1970, to 328 million valuta mark.<sup>4</sup>

Not until 1982--in parallel with the efforts to normalize the relations between China and the Soviet Union--China and the GDR began to improve again their greatly reduced official relations. At the 10th SED Congress in April 1981, Erich Honecker still had pilloried Peking's "anti-Sovietism" and its "hostile attitude toward the countries of the socialist community." Yet he also had said this: "Surmounting the Maoist legacy, which the current Chinese leaders themselves regard as ominous, turns out to be a complicated contradictory process. One will have to wait and see what outcome the changes will have that are now taking shape. As to the GDR, it continues to be ready to normalize relations with the PRC in accordance with the principles of equality, the respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, and of nonintervention. A policy of peace and normal relations, we are convinced, also is in the interest of the Chinese people itself."<sup>5</sup>

## Rapprochement

In February 1982, GDR and Chinese government officials concluded a 1982 trade and payments agreement in East Berlin which is to expand their mutual trade considerably in comparison with the 1981 trade agreement. In 1981, the Chinese-GDR foreign trade turnover came to roughly 548 million valuta mark, by which the Chinese trade took the fifteenth place in the GDR's foreign trade statistics.<sup>6</sup>

In May 1982 both the GDR and China replaced their ambassadors. Peking sent the head of the main department for cadre matters in the foreign ministry and the deputy chief of the political administration, Li Qiangfen, to East Berlin; he had represented China in the past in South Yemen and Zambia. East Berlin sent the head of the Far East department in the foreign ministry, Rolf Berthold, as ambassador to Peking, where he had already worked in the GDR Embassy as press attache from 1964 to 1966. Chinese circles in East Berlin consider the new GDR ambassador to China the GDR's top China expert. A special point is made of the fact that he speaks Chinese, which is not all that frequent among European ambassadors in Peking. In July 1982, a delegation of the PRC's health ministry visited the GDR. At the conclusion of its two-week study tour, the delegation got a reception from the deputy health minister. In October 1982 finally a delegation of the PRC state commission for physical culture and sports came to the GDR and concluded an agreement with the German Athletics and Sports League (DTSB) about the two countries exchanging athletic teams in 1983. Thereby China and the GDR resumed their relations in sports after an interruption of almost 20 years. In June 1982 already, a GDR sports delegation had attended the international track and field festival in Peking. The resumed exchange in sports between China and the GDR for the time being still takes place on the "international" level, as it were, which means that athletes take part in events in the GDR or in the PRC only if athletes of other countries do so as well. This year Chinese athletes have three times already been in the GDR, and GDR athletes were in China once.

## More Contacts

The rapprochement between China and the GDR that started last year and goes forward in small steps has made some headway this year. On GDR television screens one can now see Chinese films and television programs, and Chinese television is not likely to confine itself to present the 7-part television film, "Karl Marx--The Early Years," which the GDR coproduced with the Soviet Union in honor of the Karl Marx centenary. In March and April this year a delegation from the Central Chinese Television visited the GDR to talk about the further development of relations between the two TV organizations. During its two-week tour, the delegation visited East Berlin, Weimar, Eisenach, Erfurt, Leipzig, Karl-Marx-Stadt, Wittenberg and Dresden and showed special interest in the development of industry, agriculture and urban construction, youth education, social and cultural policy and the "cultivation of revolutionary traditions." The GDR paid much attention to the delegation from the Central Chinese Television, headed by its director for international contacts, Kong Lingduo. It got a reception in the GDR foreign ministry by deputy foreign minister Kurt Nier and talked in the SED Central Committee with the head of the agitation department, Central Committee member Heinz Geggel. Nier indicated the GDR's interest in good relations between

China and the GDR and pointed out how useful it would be to expand the cooperation of the two countries' TV stations.<sup>7</sup> In the SED Central Committee those who took part in the conversations stated with satisfaction that the relations between the GDR and the PRC mass media were developing positively and with benefits for both sides.<sup>8</sup>

No sooner had the television delegation left than a delegation of the "Chinese Youth Reports" arrived in East Berlin, headed by its general director and editor-in-chief She Shiguang, for talks with the FDJ Central Council. The delegation was officially hosted by the Chinese ambassador to the GDR. In East Berlin and Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk the delegation inspected enterprises and educational institutions and found out about the press and publishing system of the FDJ. It got a briefing from the editor-in-chief of the FDJ paper JUNGE WELT and a reception by the first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, Politburo candidate Egon Krenz. On that occasion the head of the Chinese youth delegation indicated he had last been in the GDR in 1956. Prior to the delegations of the Central Chinese Television and of the "Chinese Youth Reports," as early as in February this year, a delegation from the PRC news administration had been in the GDR for talks in the GDR Ministry for Post & Telecommunications, which ended in the signing of a draft agreement on developing the cooperation between the two countries' ministries for post & telecommunications. This delegation also stayed on in the GDR inspecting postal facilities in East Berlin and in Potsdam Bezirk and Dresden Bezirk to find out about the status of postal development in the GDR. Late in June a governmental agreement was signed in Peking about GDR-PRC cooperation in posts and telecommunications.

A GDR-PRC trade and payments transactions agreement for 1983 was signed in Peking in March this year. The Chinese side has announced that for the first time in more than 20 years the GDR had announced its readiness to include in its shipments products that China had long wanted to import but the GDR had thus far always refused to supply. The ADN report on the conclusion of the agreement states: "The document provides, among other things, for extensive GDR shipments of machine construction products. That includes W 50 trucks, farm machinery and textile machines. The Carl Zeiss Jena Combine will provide a broad palette of scientific devices. GDR exports furthermore include medical equipment and X-ray films, laboratory equipment and various products from the delivery program of the Robotron Combine. The GDR also exports potash fertilizers."<sup>9</sup> As the report reveals furthermore, China supplies tungsten ore concentrate and other nonferrous metallurgy and mining products as well as various animal and crop raw materials, including guts, bristles, essential oils and resin. Furthermore they have agreed on deliveries of rice, dry fruit, cotton textiles and light industry products. PRC delegations of experts in machine tools and microelectronics were in the GDR in the spring, and specialists of the Polygraph Combine Leipzig conducted symposia for several days in China to promote their combine's commodities. By means of lectures and films they explained to circa 200 Chinese specialists the development and capability of the GDR's polygraphic machinery construction.

In addition to the resumption and expansion of relations between China and the GDR in the fields of the economy, sports, post and telecommunications, television and youth publications, efforts can be reported in the field of culture and education. In May, on the invitation from the society for the Chinese people's friendship with foreign countries, the vice president of the GDR League for Peoples' Friendship, Paul Wandel, took a delegation to China for an extended time.

The GDR delegation visited Peking and other cities in the country and looked at cultural, economic and educational institutions and got a reception with Ji Pengfei, state commissar in the PRC State Council. When the delegation of the GDR League for Peoples' Friendship started its trip home to the GDR, the East Berlin string quartet gave its first chamber concert in Peking by which it began a tour of several days through the PRC. In three Chinese cities the chamber musicians from the GDR offered works by Mozart, Beethoven and Dvorak. The GDR is looking forward to interesting cultural performances from China still this year.

What with all the joy about the advances made in the normalization of relations between China and the GDR, the Chinese partners emphatically insist on what they call two basic facts: For one thing, this was only a matter of improving state relations--there are no relations between the CPC and the SED, nor are they meant to be revived--and second, the good relations between the FRG and the PRC would in no way be affected by the many little steps toward improving Peking's relations with East Berlin.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 25 May 1983.
2. Ibid.
3. Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR 1982, p 231.
4. Ibid.
5. "Protokoll des X. Parteitages der SED" (Tenth SED Congress Proceedings), East Berlin, 1981, Vol I, p 42.
6. Cf. footnote 3.
7. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 7 April 1983.
8. Ibid., 8 April 1983.
9. Ibid., 3 March 1983.

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CSO: 2300/374



HERMANN AXEN'S BOOK ON GDR FOREIGN POLICY REVIEWED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 16 No 6, Jun 83 pp 650-654

["Hermann Axen on GDR Foreign Policy"--Review by Wilhelm Bruns, department chief, 'Friedrich Ebert Foundation' Research Institute, Bonn; lecturer, Bonn University; of book "Starker Sozialismus--Sicherer Frieden. Ausgewahlte Reden und Aufsätze" (Strong Socialism, Secure Peace--Selected Speeches and Papers) by Hermann Axen, SED Politburo secretary; published under the auspices of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee, by Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, 606 pages, 8.50 DM]

[Text] When the "secret" GDR minister for foreign affairs, Hermann Axen (member of the SED Politburo and secretary for international relations of the SED Central Committee) presents a collection of speeches and papers to the public (on the occasion of his 65th birthday and at the decision of the Politburo and the SED Central Committee), this deserves our attention, too, namely for the following reasons:

--To begin with and above all, the self-understanding of GDR foreign policy is authentically and comprehensively presented here.

--The speeches and papers, which encompass the period from June 1967 to November 1980, and thus cover a period which brought the decisive breakthrough for GDR foreign policy, provide answers to a number of questions, such as these: What is the assessment of its foreign policy position from which the SED leadership proceeds in its foreign policy? How does the SED leadership perceive the international power relationship in its changes? What proposals does the SED leadership make in regard to the solution of the "core question of the present time", viz., the question of peace and the reduction of armaments? What proposals does it make in regard to international cooperation? How does it perceive the Federal Republic, what proposals does it make here? And last, but not least: Has the SED image of imperialism and in particular of the Federal Republic changed in the course of this time?

What we have here is a selection. Criteria for the selection are not mentioned. Nevertheless it can be noted that the volume contains some works which--to the knowledge of the reviewer--are published for the first time (as, for example, Axen's presentation to the GDR Academy of Sciences, dated 31 October 1974, on "The Current International Situation and the Foreign Policy

Tasks of the GDR", pp 46 ff., or Axen's paper at the conference for ambassadors organized by the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs, dated 26 May 1976, entitled "The Next Tasks of Our Foreign Policy After the 11th SED Party Congress", pp 138 ff., or Axen's speech at a conference of the GDR Ministry for National Defense, dated 25 October 1977, entitled "On Some Problems of the International Class Struggle of Our Time" (pp 295 ff.).

The title of the book--"Strong Socialism, Secure Peace"--reflects the tenor of many of his statements. To the axiom "socialism and peace" are identical, he counterposes the other axiom, according to which "imperialism and war" are identical. The arms race is thus explained logically on the basis of the stimulus-reaction scheme: The pacemaker is imperialism, with real existing socialism being merely the participant. But here the reviewer misses what Max Schmidt, in the theoretical journal of the SED, EINHEIT, 10/1981, in his discussion of the book, praises so much: "The compelling logic and persuasive power" are not reflected here. But then statements about the intrinsic character of things cannot be analyzed through the means of logic and persuasive power.

A constantly repeated concept is that of socialist peace policy. In the search for the goal, content and method, one encounters to begin with the fact that socialist peace policy for the GDR is the demand on the Federal Republic to change its policy toward the GDR, i. e., to fulfill all the demands of the GDR. In his earlier speeches, Axen derives the recognition of the GDR from the requirement of peace, as for example, when in his speeches in the 1960's and at the beginning of the 1970's he demands again and again "the recognition of the German peace state, the GDR" (p 27). For the SED leadership, "the recognition and the recognition of the status quo" was "the basis of any peaceful order in Europe" (p 18). The recognition of the GDR, it was argued, is not a question of prestige, but "first of all a decisive question of the creation of a permanent European peace" (HORIZONT, 1969, reprinted here: p 28). If to begin with the recognition of the GDR by the Federal Republic was the most important goal of the socialist peace policy of the GDR, the development of the relations between the two German states was elevated to the rank of "great significance for peace in Europe" (p 393).

The speeches of Axel confirm here once again the general observation that the GDR does not elucidate its German-German peace policy with the aid of the Basic Treaty, which would in particular imply proposals in regard to the implementation of Article 7. The speeches of Axel also document how FRG-oriented GDR policy is and that GDR foreign policy can be reduced to policy in regard to inner-German relations, even though attempts are being made time and time again to express the relations between the Federal Republic and the GDR in categories of the international class struggle. For example, when it is said that the unbridgeable class opposition between socialism and capitalism is and remains "the determining factor in the relations between the GDR and the FRG" (p 78). The objective of the GDR, it is said, is to differentiate itself "in the future, too" from the imperialism in the FRG and its policy, as from imperialism in general (p 77). Again and again peaceful coexistence is referred to as the basis for the relations of the two German states. What is meant by peaceful coexistence? "The only stable basis of the relations



between the socialist and the imperialist German state" (p 271)? To this question, Hermann Axen gives a gratifyingly clear answer: "Peaceful coexistence means, above all, the elimination of war in the relations between the socialist and the capitalist countries. Peaceful coexistence in Europe, therefore, means, as codified in the Final Act of Helsinki, the recognition of the frontiers of the territorial status quo. Peaceful coexistence, however, does not signify by any means the maintenance of the political and social status quo in the capitalist countries" (p 205).

This authentic understanding of peaceful coexistence on the part of the SED shows strikingly that the Western understanding of detente is only peripherally identical with the GDR's understanding of the concept of peaceful coexistence. The criterion of success for peaceful coexistence is the change of the political and social status quo in the capitalist countries. In so doing, the Western understanding of detente is repudiated which, with reference to the Final Act of Helsinki, postulates an approximation through change on both sides. Furthermore, this understanding of peaceful coexistence lacks a developed concept of cooperation, not only on the state level, but also between non-state organization and in the interhuman sphere.

Given such an understanding, it becomes comprehensible that the SED time and again engages in polemics against tourist traffic and against human contacts, both of which are expressly formulated in a document which was signed by the GDR and which otherwise is frequently, if selectively, cited by the GDR, viz., in the Final Act of Helsinki. Axen says in a speech of 25 October 1977 (here p 328): "The politicians of the FRG would like to make the public believe that peace and detente depend above all on tourist traffic and so-called human contacts. That is deceit." He added that "the GDR is open to the world" and asserted, "we have no deficit with respect to contacts" (p 329). The Final Act of Helsinki, which currently is being tested at the 2nd CSCE Follow-Up Conference in Madrid, is misinterpreted by Axel in the familiar fashion. Although the GDR, too, signed to the effect that all the principles and provisions worked out must be applied equally and without reservation, and that the Final Act of Helsinki consists of one piece, attempts are made again and again to take out what can be used for current policy. Although Axen says on the one hand: "Those who are sincerely interested in the progress of detente, should no longer call it into question through attempts to tear apart arbitrarily the individual parts of the Final Act" (p 283)--and in so doing, of course, means Western attempts to emphasize Basket III in particular--his attempts of arbitrary tearing apart of the Final Act cannot be overlooked (pp 87).

In 5 points, Hermann Axen gave an answer to the question of what socialist peace policy is.

--"First of all, socialist peace policy is anything else than pacifism."

--"Secondly, this policy progressively narrows the freedom of action of imperialism with respect to domestic and foreign policy."

--"Thirdly, in connection with this, socialist peace policy contributes to the improvement of the conditions of the struggle of communists and their allies

in the capitalist countries."

--"Fourthly, the policy of peaceful coexistence helps the states which have achieved national liberation."

--"Fifthly, the policy of peaceful coexistence by no means is in opposition to other forms of the revolutionary struggle." (pp 59 ff.)

The bearer of such a socialist peace policy is the real existing socialism. How does Hermann Axen define this socialism?

--"First of all, real socialism is a definite state-political reality", "a state of a new type".

--"Secondly, real socialism is a definite economic reality."

--"Thirdly, real socialism embodies a new type of social relations."

--"Fourthly, real socialism is a new cultural and moral quality."

--"Fifthly, real socialism is the result of the active, living creativity of the popular masses, even under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties."

Let us take the second element, according to which real socialism is a definite economic reality and connect this reality with the phenomenon in real existing socialism depicted by Axen on p 107: "If in some stores articles such as shoe laces, kindling products, children's sandals or school supplies were temporarily out of stock, those responsible cannot excuse themselves on the basis of some kind of objective reasons, which do not exist at all. Shortages in the supply of basic necessities are today quite decidedly under the social and economic level of the GDR."

The emphasis of the explanations of the foreign relations politician Axen is naturally on foreign policy and international questions. Nevertheless one notes the fact here that Axel fails to fill in the asserted interrelationship between domestic and foreign policy in accordance with Marxist-Leninist method. Remarks about domestic policy remain cursory. They stand unconnected besides the remarks on foreign policy. Thus, it would have been interesting to find out what, in the perception of Axen, has changed with respect to domestic policy after the GDR received international recognition and after international detente became a dominant phenomenon in the 1970's. Although the FRG image changed only minimally, it is nevertheless worth noting that conceptually the FRG has changed; thus from the "West German Federal Republic" (p 16) to the "FRG" (p 155).

Where does the GDR stand today in regard to foreign policy? The GDR is included by Axen among the victors in history and as a bearer and component of a new power relationship in favor of socialism. Noteworthy here is his understanding of the power relationship. Proceeding from the admonition that one can measure the power relationship only if one includes the totality of all

important factors and powers of a social order, he arrives at the statement: "If one considers the totality of the political, economic, social, scientific-technical, cultural, moral and military powers, the socialist social system . . . clearly turns out to be the stronger social order, which increasingly determines the course of international events. . ." (pp 516 ff.). Although the "methodology of Marxism-Leninism calls for an analysis of the international power relationship, an analysis of these individual components is missing. Nowhere, for example, was the factor of "military power" analyzed and compared.

Not without pride, Axen makes reference to the changes in the international environment for the GDR. Thus he registers attentively in an interview with L'HUMANITE, dated 7 October 1969, that just now in the year 1969 7 non-socialist states established diplomatic relations with the GDR and thus broke through the "diplomatic blockade". If one notes the fact that after the signing of the Basic Treaty the GDR, within a few months afterwards, established relations with twice as many states as during the two previous decades, one perceives not only a development, but also the decisive connection of its foreign policy with the FRG policy on inner-German relations. With pride Axen registers: "The GDR at the present time maintains diplomatic relations with 128 states and as a member of the United Nations is engaged in active and multi-faceted work in its organs and special organizations. It is a member of the Geneva Disarmament Committee and takes a direct part in the Vienna negotiations on the limitations of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe." (p 500). This, Axen was able to state in February 1979. It seems that the gain of the GDR with respect to its foreign policy position will not have a significant effect in terms of domestic policy for the inhabitants of the GDR. For them the fact remains (Axen's statement) that in the form of the socialist GDR and the capitalist FRG the "struggle and the competition between the two opposed world systems" manifests itself, and, what is more, "in particularly pointed form". In particular the consequences from this struggle and the competition will be painful for the inhabitants of the GDR now as before and will have their specific consequences for German-German relations.

"An instructive and well-argued book, which provides direction for creative thinking and action in the intensified spiritual and political dispute of our time between socialism and imperialism"--as Max Schmidt noted in his review? The speeches show some analytical set pieces, express positions and demands of the GDR, and authentically reflect the self-understanding of the SED leadership. But the book is not well-argued, and directions for creative thinking and action are also not discernible. For this, the explanations are too apodictic and too self-assured. In the speeches of Hermann Axen selected here, the foreign policy of the GDR appears as a policy which constantly differentiates itself from the FRG, which completely subordinates itself to the Soviet line ("the posture toward the CPSU and to the Soviet Union is for communists in the GDR the test for faithfulness to Marxism-Leninism and to the historic mission of the working class", p 129).

Original GDR contributions to the analysis of international politics, as well as specific GDR proposals in regard to peace policy are not discernible in the speeches of Hermann Axen. But perhaps this was not intended.

8970

cso: 2300/371

EXPANDED PATENT, LICENSING LAWS DISCUSSED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 114, 9 Aug 83 p 2

/Report from Berlin: "GDR Is Planning a Comprehensive Reform of Patent Rights." A translation of the East Berlin STAAT UND RECHT article cited below follows this commentary/

/Text/ A comprehensive reform of the patent and licensing laws now in force is being prepared in the GDR. As the East Berlin magazine STAAT UND RECHT reports, it is the chief aim of the new regulations to enforce economic accounting in the sphere of science and research also. Accordingly, patented scientific-technological innovations are on principle to be sold even within the GDR. The regulations in effect now do not grant any special financial rights to GDR enterprises from business patents, because patented inventions are freely disposable within the state sector. License fees are paid in exceptional cases only.

GDR Law Scholar's Discussion

East Berlin STAAT UND RECHT in German Vol 32 No 7, Jul 83 pp 552-561

/Article by Prof Willi Linden, Department of Law and Political Science, Martin Luther University, Halle-Wittenberg: "Legal Protection of Social Inventions and State Property Right"/

/Text/ Problems of the legal protection of inventions produced in units of the socially owned sector, or with their backing, or that devolve on society by the choice of proprietary rights (social inventions in the particular and extended meaning) have been debated repeatedly, and to some extent controversially. The point at issue--relatively independent of the conceptual approach (inventor principle/commercial law approach)--was the status of authorized enterprises in regard to proprietary rights.<sup>1</sup> The ideological influence of the so-called inventor principle and the view that the ownership of social inventions was unstructured, had the effect that no agreement could be achieved on the subjective rights to be assigned authorized enterprises and how to organize them in terms of proprietary rights.<sup>2</sup>

Two topical events are causing us to reconsider this problem. They are the imminent revision of this section of the law and the party and government proposition to

make research and development subject to economic accounting, on principle to sell scientific-technological innovations within the GDR also, and to utilize the interests of the enterprises as motive forces of social progress.<sup>3</sup>

This article intends to submit to the discussion one point of view regarding some questions involved in the disputed group of problems. It is based on reflections on property rights and takes into account the interests of authorized enterprises.<sup>4</sup>

Such an approach appears justified for the following reasons: The organization and protection of economic exploitation rights founded in ownership of the invention, represent one task of the legal protection of inventions, in addition to the organization and protection of patent rights defined in terms of individual rights but not restricted to such rights. This task derives its importance from the fact that inventions at the present time do not owe their emergence only to the creativity of their generators. They require substantial social resources and the commitment of the enterprises. Their acquisition is getting more expensive, their application more complex. They function as a decisive part of the social production potential and embody a growing property value. Their handling cannot be separated from the internal structure of state property and the interests of their holders.

In dealing with this group of problems, I assume the following propositions:

1. Intangible production has all the features of social production. Use values are produced, distributed, exchanged and consumed. Wherever this happens, products are acquired and property arises.<sup>5</sup> Property as a relation of production requires property as a relation in law.
2. The results of intangible production are social acquired in the social ownership sector exactly like products of material production. Inventions are no exceptions to this rule; they generate original state property. Patent rights organize property right as the exclusive right of society and bestow subjective rights on those involved in the process of creativity and acquisition. They do not, though, establish ownership.<sup>6</sup>
3. As intangible production as a phenomenon is still individual production, and as acquisition initially proceeds as individual and intellectual acquisition, specialized literature sometimes still tends to trace the rights of society in inventions from allegedly earlier ownership rights of the inventors.<sup>7</sup> However, individual intellectual acquisition is merely a necessary stage in social economic acquisition. It effects it. Creators here carry out functions as social owners and establish their expectancy of subjective inventor rights.
4. The economic acquisition of inventions proceeds as part and parcel of total social acquisition by authorized enterprises (originally) and third users (secondarily). Within the scope of their sphere of responsibility and their plan targets, they are entitled and obligated to create, take over and utilize useful scientific-technological innovations, and to multiply and protect state property (Articles 2, 3 Paragraphs 1, 9, Paragraphs 1, 12 ff, Combine Decree).<sup>8</sup>
5. By its very nature, state property is one and indivisible. Its legal entity is the socialist state. Still, appropriately classified, state property exists in the

funds of the state organized legal entities that need it to carry out their tasks, have fund related legal authority and are responsible for its orderly exercise (Articles 2, 3 Paragraphs 2, 34 Paragraph 4, Combine Decree). In economic and legal transactions they act as an independent property entity with separate interests.<sup>9</sup>

6. The tendency to free communication, inherent in the nature of scientific-technological results, and the fact that scientific-technological results have an informational as well as a productive function, modify, restrict and make more difficult their classification and regulation in terms of property law. At the same time, though, such regulations is imperative so as to protect the results and/or the interests of authorized enterprises and precisely by this means to safeguard their informational effect.<sup>10</sup>

7. In the GDR the business patent is the form of law for the protection of social inventions. Similar to copyright, the patent organizes and protects state property and the subjective rights of inventors or authorized third parties. It appears as a required or elected business patent. Its legal entities are the socialist state as owner, the authorized enterprises that originally acquire inventions as well as the inventors or their legal successors insofar as a legal succession is admissible. Authorized enterprises act as representatives of state ownership and as independent property owning legal entities. They independently organize their own reproduction process.

The present organization of the commercial patent does not properly reflect the status with respect to proprietary rights. The legal status of authorized enterprises and their interests are neglected, although these are necessary for the protection of the patent. The protection of inventions and the exchange principle with respect to scientific-technological results in terms of the commercial code do not always coincide.<sup>11</sup> In order as smoothly as possible to incorporate a future regulatory settlement in the entire economic and legal system,<sup>12</sup> it is important in particular to find new provisions for the establishment, ownership and substance of commercial patents.

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The establishment of patents is guaranteed in law by the right to a patent and the right to a patent grant. The right to the patent arises from the authorship and acquisition of inventions. At the present time it is granted only to the inventor (or his legal successor) as per Article 5 Paragraph 1, Patent Law.<sup>13</sup> However, in the case of social inventions, authorship and acquisition diverge. That is why, in their capacity as holders of social property, authorized enterprises must also be entitled to this right. Logically the enterprises must therefore have the right and the duty to examine social relations to begin with, with a view to their patentability, and to apply for the patent. This would cut the soil from under a view currently held, according to which the exercise of a right alone realizes patent rights. Authorized enterprises would be made aware that this is how they may observe their very own responsibility as fund owners and users, so as to protect social property and their interests.

As has been the case up to now, the authorized enterprise is solely to be obligated initially to apply for a patent.<sup>14</sup> It acts in the superordinated interest, and no

antagonistic contradictions exist between its interests and those of the inventors. The enterprise has available the necessary manpower, material and financial prerequisites to be able to correctly proceed in its own behalf and to expertly assist the inventors in the establishment and assurance of their rights as per the principles of socialist working life.

Preliminary enterprise examination and patent application obtain their special importance by the additional inventor rights that go before the commercial patent and arise upon application for such a patent.<sup>15</sup> As now, inventors will still be obligated to notify the enterprise of their invention, keep it under wraps as long as necessary and collaborate in the acquisition of the patent right.

In view of the fact that authorized enterprises must decide in accordance with due discretion, they may in justified instances dispense with a patent application. The right to application must then be transferred to the inventor(s), but he (they) may only apply for the required commercial patent, because the enterprise's abandonment of an application does not represent the abandonment of the acquisition of the invention. Since the introduction of the enterprise duty to apply for a patent, the currently valid sanctions, according to which inventors may lose their rights as holders of social property if they fail to exercise their right of application,<sup>16</sup> has become moot.

Rights and duties in the procedure for the acquisition of patent rights must be organized for the authorized enterprises and inventors respectively. Among others, authorized enterprises as well as inventors must make a statement on the legal basis of their application. These statements must include a right to revendication in case of the unauthorized use of the invention. The justification for this and the exercise of revendication arise in accordance with the concrete facts of the matter.

The acquisition of patent rights abroad and the choice of the type of patent (if there is a choice between copyright and patent) are a matter for the authorized enterprise. Its legal status arises from the social ownership of the invention and from its fund authority. It would be desirable for the principle now in effect to be annulled, according to which the authorized enterprise is required--if there is a choice--to apply for a patent that transfers the invention to the state granting the patent.<sup>17</sup>

In the case of the permissible abandonment of application abroad, the right to apply for a patent need not necessarily be passed on to the inventor. This is an internal decision by authorized enterprises (in terms of patents), that may take into account, among others, the ratio of cost and profit. Should it be decided to retain the provision in effect now, according to which third parties may acquire partial rights in state property, the inventor must be obligated not to exercise the rights arising from patents abroad to the detriment of state property. There is no economic basis for an inventor remuneration as currently paid for patent applications abroad, because the inventive performance is adequately distinguished and rewarded by the inventor rights proper. The remuneration never presented compensation for the assignment of the inventor's right to apply for a patent abroad.<sup>18</sup> Should the claim be retained as a specific type of reward, it ought to be tied to the remuneration in recognition.

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In a debate with the Institute of Patent Ownership, Jonkisch and Kastler recommended abandoning this institute with respect to commercial patents.<sup>19</sup> In my opinion this would not help anything, because it is not the institute per se that deserves criticism but rather its current legal organization. This would have to be made to correspond to socialist social conditions and the economic orientation of party and government. Patent ownership keeps its justification<sup>20</sup> and its moral impact on inventors and managers, because it is a point of reference for the respective group of rights and duties. Furthermore, patent ownerships turn into criteria for personnel in research and development as well as for enterprises. They should be assigned an appropriate status in research and development plans.

The problem of patent ownership may be settled in one of two ways. 1: The authorized enterprise might become the sole patentee; 2: Patent ownership might be assigned jointly to the authorized enterprise and the inventors. In the first case inventors would have to be granted an author's or inventor's certificate, unlimited in time. The lack of a time limit would reflect the timelessness of authorship. It is irrelevant with respect to claims for indemnification, because that is subject to specific limitation. Commercial patent and inventor's certificate would be legal titles dependent upon one another. Osterland has discussed the reasons for preferring separation and also the legal possibilities for resolving this problem.<sup>21</sup> As for the second approach, I consider beneficial the uniformity of basic facts that result in invention and patent, the function of patent ownership as the point of reference for the respective groups of rights, the lesser cost of the acquisition procedure as well as the expediency for legal defense. In this case the rights arising from the patent and the procedural status of patentees must be settled separately. The problem involved is less one of patent rights that are not to be pursued any further, than the rights and duties of enterprises that have not yet been fully developed with regard to protective rights. How are these to be organized?

The grant of a patent declares the invention to be the exclusive property of the state. Insofar it is the object of protection. In accordance with the regulations of the Combine Decree, the authorized enterprise is first of all to be assigned the right and duty to defend the invention and the patent against encroachment (unauthorized use) and/or attack (nullity suits); to be made responsible is the enterprise assigned the appropriate procedural status.<sup>22</sup> Secondly it is to be assigned the right and duty (the latter possibly conditional with regard to time and subject matter) of using the invention and pursuing the grant of licenses; thirdly it is to be designated authorized enterprise.

In addition to the authorized enterprise, user and distribution rights must be granted to all other interested holders of social property. If the latter claim these rights, the authorized enterprise should be entitled to charge a price, independent of the indemnification to be paid. If it does impose a charge (it does not have to do so), it is obligated to assist third users in the introduction of the invention and to guarantee the technical serviceableness and, in the appropriate circumstances, the utility of the invention. When a third user is able--against payment--to dispose of another's patented inventions (among others), the authorized enterprise should have a claim to a reasonable share of the profits. As far as the details of rights, duties and reciprocal claims are concerned, the contract law should be referred to.



Identification as authorized enterprise and the material claims involved represent the enterprise privileges arising from commercial patents, and their owners therefore have a particular responsibility. Preferential rights would in part compensate authorized enterprises for their duties. They would obtain an opportunity to redistribute their research costs or obtain additional profits and would thereby be stimulated to encourage inventive processes and actively promote the dissemination of the results. Their interests as well as the interests of the inventors would be objects of protection.

The use of inventions must be exempt from licensing for holders of social property; this right and duty arise from the Combine Decree. However, when such use is begun, the Office for Inventions and Patents should be notified and the beginning use recorded. This would preserve a measure of control and additionally secure the interests of authorized enterprises and inventors. Use actions by inventors--should their rights to these be preserved (Article 2 Paragraph 6, Patent Law)--and with respect to secret patents must remain subject to licensing. Interested users outside the sector of social property must be referred to the contractual acquisition of user rights from the authorized enterprise.

The right to a required commercial patent or enterprise patent ownership should be legally assignable among holders of social property,<sup>23</sup> and so should be pecuniary claims arising from commercial patents. This may be argued from the freedom of agreement in the contract investigation and the considerations of utility at the time the patent is acquired. Permission for the assignment of rights would not make these the objects of speculation, because their purpose and function run counter to such abuse.

\* \* \*

Nullity suits against a required commercial patent may adversely affect the rights of the state, authorized enterprises and inventors. Consequently authorized enterprises and inventors should be liable to be sued in nullity procedures. Depending on the legal status, they should be able to appear individually or as third parties in the proceedings. The economic department of the Office for Inventions and Patents would no longer need to be involved in the proceedings (at this time Article 35 Paragraph 3, Patent Law).

Moreover, the authorized enterprise would have to be assigned the right to surrender the commercial patent if no more patent interest exists for the inventors, because they are no longer entitled to claims for indemnification. Commercial patents need not be enforced against the wishes of the patentee. The authorized enterprises must expertly and responsibly observe total societal interests. As long as the inventors' claims for indemnification are not satisfied or, exceptionally, payments made to them are reclaimed, the enterprise as the patentee should be entitled to apply for nullity in a special procedure. In that case the inventor would be liable to be sued in nullity procedures. If enterprise and inventor come to an agreement to the effect that the latter yields his claims or states his willingness to make restitution, the ascertainment proceeding should be replaced by the abandonment of the patent. The various legal effects of an annulment of patents and their cancellation as the consequence of abandonment generally require the coupling of the request for cancellation or correction with the request for the abandonment of any claim, a procedure preceding the annulment proceeding for reasons of cutting costs.

As in the case of the unauthorized use of the invention, state property, the interests of the authorized enterprise and the claims of the inventors may be infringed, the right of action must be organized accordingly. Only authorized enterprises would have claims to injunctions and abatement. Such claims are based on the ownership of the invention. Claims for damage would always be at the disposal of authorized enterprises but at that of the inventors only before they have received the topmost amount of indemnification due them. In such a case enterprise and inventors would have the legal capacity to sue and act as third parties. As before, inventors should be able to empower authorized enterprises to act in their behalf. Without patent ownership all state organized legal persons, by virtue of their general duty to multiply and defend state property, would be entitled and obligated to handle the legal defense in patent nullity proceedings and in cases of patent infringements. The effects of such a state of affairs on practice and the legal situation are obvious.

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In the case of commercial patents that are elected or arise by the conversion of an exclusionary patent (Article 1 Paragraph 1, Article 3 Paragraph 2, Patent Law), the legal status would have to be basically organized the same as for required commercial patents. The following special features would have to be taken into account:

-- In addition to his inventor rights, the original authorized person retains an original use right exempt from license and an independent right to defense. Its exercise may result in his becoming a third party with authorized enterprises. This does not involve the power of disposition in the meaning of the authority to leave the invention to third parties for their use. Authorized enterprises may not unilaterally abandon the patent.

-- Just as ownership of the exclusionary patent, the right of a patent (including the right of selection) is transferable. For the sake of expediency, the claim to the assignment of an already selected commercial patent and the patent ownership of the party entitled to make the selection should be equally transferable. The user right, linked to patent ownership, would then be transferred to the new patentee. No special interests of social property are adversely affected by such an organization of the law. Whenever a holder of social property acquires these rights, he must apply for a commercial patent or convert the exclusionary patent into a commercial patent.

-- In the case of the purchase of patent rights, the buyer becomes the authorized enterprise. Otherwise it is the first user. As long as there is no authorized enterprise, an administrative fund is to be set up for selected commercial patents at the Office for Inventions and Patents (economic department), that will designate the future first user as the authorized enterprise.

-- Upon conversion, those who have acquired the rights from the owner of the exclusionary patent, retain the earlier settlement.<sup>24</sup>

Consideration should be given the issue whether persons authorized to select are to be obligated in their capacity as commercial patentees not to claim the rights due them from parallel patents abroad to the detriment of the state property.

In conclusion it remains to be mentioned that consideration of the aspects of patent law regulations involving property rights might achieve the following:

- The protection of inventions and commercial law would necessarily be linked;
- Patent policy and patent grant practice would be evident as comprehensive tasks of authorized enterprises and state organs;
- Persons authorized and obligated from the aspect of state property would be clearly defined and their status with respect to patents correspond to their status in the reproduction process;
- At the appropriate time, new groups of objectives and scientific-technological results generated without the creativity of inventors would be capable of easy incorporation in the patent system.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Defined as authorized enterprises are originator enterprises in the narrow meaning or, depending on contractual agreement and actual occurrences, clients, contractors or named users.
1. The following are to be mentioned among the ample legal literature on this topic: W. Boecker, "The New Codification of the GDR's Patent Law, Taking Into Account the Findings of USSR Patent Law" and F. Jonkisch, "Problems of the Further Development of Patent Law in the GDR," both in WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ZEITSCHRIFT DER HUMBOLDT-UNIVERSITY ZU BERLIN, series on social and linguistic scholarship, 1975, No 4, pp 405 ff 415 ff; F. Jonkisch/R. Kastler, "Unity of Social, Enterprise and Personal Interests--Bases of a Future Socialist Inventor and Patent Law in the GDR," DER NEUERER (B), 1968, pp 243 ff; R. Kastler/K. Lengwinat/H. Pogodda/E. Winklbauer, "The Exchange of Scientific-Technological Results Within the Socialist Economy," STAAT UND RECHT 1967, pp 567 ff; W. Linden, "Basic Theoretical Problems of State Property Rights in Scientific-Technological Results, Their Legal Protection and the Contract on Their Exchange," doctoral theses, Martin Luther University, Halle-Wittenberg, 1975, Vol I, second half volume, pp 1 ff; W. Linden, "Scientific-Technological Progress--Socialist Law," Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, WISSENSCHAFTLICHE BEITRAEGE 1981/45 (B 15), Halle 1981, Vol I, pp 83ff; H. Nathan, "The New Patent Law of the GDR," NEUE JUSTIZ 1950, pp 430 ff; H. Nathan, "Thoughts on Socialist Patent Law," ERFINDUNGS- UND VORSCHLAGSWESSEN (B), 1958, p 242; W. Nowotka, "Object and Nature in Commercial Law of the Socialist Patent Law in the GDR," STAAT UND RECHT 1967, pp 1937 ff; W. Nowotka/W. Panzer, "State Property Law and Socialist Patent Ownership," WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT 1969, pp 516 ff; R. Osterland, "Effects of the Scientific-Technological Revolution on Patent Legislation," STAAT UND RECHT 1967, p 1922; R. Osterland, "Patent Legislation," STAAT UND RECHT, 1967, p 1922; R. Osterland, "Patent Right Bases for the Organization of Efficient Cooperation in Research and Development," WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ZEITSCHRIFT DER TECHNISCHEN UNIVERSITAET DRESDEN, Series 2 No 10; SOZIALISTISCHE BETRIEBSWIRTSCHAFT 1973, No 1, pp 13 ff; R. Osterland, in R. Klar/R. Osterland, "Legal Issues of Scientific-Technological Progress in the GDR," doctoral theses, Karl Marx University, Leipzig, 1975, vol 3, pp 503 ff, with further bibliographical indications: W. Wiedemann/J. Zobel, "The Rights Arising from a Socialist

Patent and the Status of Subjectively Authorized Parties," DER NEUERER (B), 1972, pp 24 ff; E. Winklbauer/H. Pogodda, "Commercial Legal Aspects of an Inventor and Patent Law," DER NEUERER (B), 1969, pp 227 ff; E. Winklbauer, "The Significance of Lenin's Decree on Inventions for the Socialist Patent Law of the GDR," DER NEUERER (B), 1969, pp 195 ff. In Soviet literature, the following (among others) have championed enterprise rights: L.L. Mittrakov, "New Approaches to the Encouragement of Innovator Activity and the Industrial Utilization of Inventions in the USSR," GRUR INT (Weinheim), 1968, pp 66 ff; Y.Y. Maksaryov, "Inventions and Topical Tasks of Technological Progress," DER NEUERER (B) 1969, pp 147 ff (149). In general, though, problems of the assignment of invention results to authorized enterprises in the USSR are still largely omitted from any discussion of patent law. See, for example, contributions and reports to conferences in VOPROSY ISOBRETATELSTVO 1980, No 8. The more recent discussion of problems of economic management and planning points in another direction. See P. Bunich, "Deficit and Production," SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT (GB) 1982, pp 204 ff; N.P. Fedorenko, "Intensification as the Economic Strategy of the CPSU," SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT (GB) 1982, pp 481; Y. Yarkin, "Some Conditions for an Optimum Economic Mechanism," SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT (GB) 1982, pp 835 ff; B.P. Kurashvili, "Development Prospects of the State Management of the Economy," SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, 1982, No 6, pp 38 ff; V.A. Trapesnikov, "Management and Scientific-Technological Progress," SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT (GB) 1982, p 683.

3. On the fundamental importance of interests as motive forces see "Thesen des Zentralkomitees der SED zum Karl-Marx-Jahr 1983" /SED Central Committee Propositions for the Karl Marx Year 1983/, Berlin 1982, p 44.
4. The present patent law system cannot be subjected to question for many reasons. With respect to the description of the clash of scientific opinions in the past and its critical consideration see, for example, R. Osterland, in R. Klar/  
R. Osterland, "Legal Issues...", as before.
5. See K. Marx/F. Engels, Collected Works, Vol 13, Berlin 1961, p 619; W. Linden, "Intangible Production and State Ownership Law," STAAT UND RECHT 1977, pp 365 ff.
6. To the point here for the design patent law, albeit with relevance to personal rights, the verdict by the Supreme Court of 8 August 1968, DER NEUERER (B) 1969, p 30.
7. On Soviet law see I.E. Mamiofa, "Development and Perfection of Soviet Patent Law," PRAVOVEDENIE, 1974 No 1, pp 94 ff; on the various theories see, for example, E.A. Antimonov/P.S. Fleischitz, "Patent Law," Berlin 1982, pp 157 ff; L.A. Lebedeva, "The Patent Certificate and its Nature in Law," GRUR Int 1982, pp 699 ff.
8. Decree on State Combines, Combine Enterprises and State Enterprises of 8 November 1979, GB I p 355. Some similar tasks had already been clearly standardized in the Decree on the Tasks, Rights and Duties of State Enterprises, Combines and Associations of State Enterprises of 28 March 1973 (GB I p 129), Article 9 Paragraph 3, Article 16. These tasks continue. Details in W. Linden, "Basic Theoretical Problems...", as before, pp 39 ff.

9. See R. Schuessler, "Theoretical Problems of State Property Law," doctoral theses B, Martin Luther University Halle 1975. On the problem of interests see details as in U.-J. Heuer, "Demokratie und Recht" [Democracy and Law], Berlin 1965, pp 114 ff; U.-J. Heuer, "Recht und Wirtschaftsleitung im Sozialismus" [Law and Economic Management in Socialism], Berlin 1982, pp 183 ff. On specific relevance to intangible production see W. Linden, "Basic Theoretical Problems....," as before; W. Linden, "Intangible Production and State Property Law," as before; R. Osterland, "Thoughts on the Legal Organization of the Acquisition of Scientific-Technological Results," STAAT UND RECHT 1978, pp 709 ff; see also the polemic by S. Scheufler, "Remarks on a Theory of Partnership in Scientific-Technological Results," WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ZEITSCHRIFT DER HUMBOLDT UNIVERSITAET ZU BERLIN, Series on sociology and linguistics, 1979 No 5, pp 653 ff.
10. On the problems of the ability to acquire scientific-technological results see in particular W. Linden, "Basic Theoretical Problems....," as before, Vol I, first half volume, pp 39 ff; second half volume, pp 1 ff; R Osterland, as before; "Legal Issues of the Generation, Security and Utilization of Scientific-Technological Results," in "Scientific-Technological Progress--Socialist Law," WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ZEITSCHRIFT DER MARTIN-LUTHER-UNIVERSITAET HALLE-WITTENBERG, scientific contributions 1981, No 45 (B 15), Vol I, pp 132 ff.
11. According to the patent law in effect, enterprises cannot appear as third parties in nullity suits. They are not explicitly empowered to sue in cases of patent infringements. Their right of action can at best be justified in a legally round-about way and is rather shaky. They do not have legitimate claims on authorized third users. The link of paid exchanges of scientific-technological results with agency and/or assignment performances merely establishes the most general exchange condition (Article 18 Paragraphs 2, 3, first implementing decree to the decree of 25 March 1982 (GB1 II p 641). Known and freely available scientific-technological results need not be purchased. In contrast to non-patented scientific-technological results, patented inventions--with the exception of secret patents--are published in specifications. As no special rights arise for enterprises from commercial patents, the inventions so patented are freely available within the sector of social ownership. Their exchange for money is the exception in legal terms. The contradiction arising in the classification and availability of inventions and legally unprotected but unpublished scientific-technological results with user value remains unremarked.
12. See K. Marx/F. Engels, Collected Works, Vol 37, Berlin 1967, pp 488 ff (491).
13. See GDR Patent Law of 6 September 1960 (GB1 p 989), in the version of 31 July 1963 (GB1 I p 12) and of 11 June 1968 (GB1 I p 242).
14. See Article 10 ff of the Decree on the Work with Patent Rights of 31 January 1980 (GB1 I p 49).
15. See Resolution on Measures for the Encouragement of Inventor Activities of 2 March 1978 (GB1 I p 101); Third Implementing Order to the Patent Decree of 2 March 1978 (GB1 I p 102).

16. See Article 2 Paragraphs 7 and 9, Patent Law, as before; Article 9, First Implementing Order to the Patent Law of 20 March 1952 (GBI p 281) in connection with Article 11, Patent Law Decree, as before.
17. Article 3, First Implementing Order to the Patent Decree of 31 January 1980 (GBI I p 53). In the case of joint inventions as per the CEMA Patent Treaty of 12 April 1973 (GBI II p 109), the provisions of the treaty hold. The respective partners are to agree the possible choice of patent. In countries where the inventor principle is absolute, the application must be submitted by the inventor if the authorized enterprise so wishes. Consequent rights are to be contractually or by law transferred to the enterprise. In the case of authorship certificates, the latter falls away because the author merely retains inventor rights. See No 26 and Section VIII on the "Decree on Discoveries, Inventions and Rationalization Proposals of the USSR of 21 August 1973," DER NEUERER 1974, No 2 (E AND V INFORMATIONEN).
18. See the provision in effect, Article 2 Paragraphs 2 and 3, Amendment Law to the Patent Law of 31 July 1983 (GBI I p 121).
19. See F. Jonkisch/R. Kastler, as before.
20. See R. Osterland, "Patent Right Bases...", as before; R. Osterland in R. Klar/R. Osterland, as before.
21. See R. Osterland, as before.
22. See Decree on the Legal Protection of Samples and Models of Industrial Design of 17 January 1975, GBI I p 140.
23. See "Erfinder- und Neuererrecht der DDR" /Inventor and Innovator Law of the GDR/, Berlin 1968, Vol I, p 201.
24. Article 5, First Implementing Order to the Patent Law, as before.

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CSO: 2300/373

CALL FOR FAVORING MOST CAPABLE STUDENTS, RAISING ENROLLMENTS

East Berlin DAS HOCHSCHULWESEN in German Vol 31 No 8, Aug 83 (signed to press 1 Jun 83) pp 219-223

[Speech by Hans-Joachim Boehme, GDR Minister of University and Technical School Affairs, at the FDJ's Karl Marx Conference in Leipzig, 5 May 83]

[Text] Dear Friends and Comrades!

FDJ student conferences like this one have always played a big role in the history of our university affairs. The 165th birthday and 100th death anniversary of the founder of our world-outlook this time present us with a significant occasion for thinking about the topical tasks in the further class-bound education of the students and the continued development of their performance readiness toward strengthening and protecting socialism. I am grateful for the opportunity to speak here about our joint problems from the vantage point of the ministry, finding myself in full agreement with Wilfried Possner, whose speech I highly commend.

Today's conference and its topic remind me of my own studies at Leipzig University and its being given its name, the introduction of basic Marxist-Leninist courses and the role of the FDJ. I am referring not so much to the sort of nostalgia that comes through the awareness that now, after 30 years, one belongs to the senior alumni generation, but to knowing about the impact and continuity of party policy, ranging from the Marxism-Leninism FDJ study groups of 1950/1951 via mandatory Marxist-Leninist studies as of 1951 to the teaching program passed on after the 10th SED Congress in 1981 and currently in place. The socialist youth association had always written on its banners the effort to acquire the basics in Marxism-Leninism and the mobilization of the students for that task.

Basic Marxist-Leninist studies have been standard procedure at our universities now for 32 years. For today's student generation it is understood that it will thoroughly deal with the scientific world-outlook of the workers class and provide itself thereby with what it needs for civic action and for scientific and professional activity.

The historic dimension of such self-evidence can become truly evident only after all these years and through its overall social impact. If we have in our country today a socialist intelligentsia, highly respected and firmly linked with the workers class, which as an alliance partner keeps playing an increasing role in



making social progress prevail, it is because the seed for it was planted in the Marxist-Leninist education and training of the more than one and a half million university and technical graduates from our top educational institutions within the last three decades. Based on an ideology shared with the workers class, along with the development of socialism in our state, a new socialist intelligentsia has evolved, by now being in its second generation.

This is the strategic task that matters to us when we are talking of basic Marxist-Leninist studies. A student of today should know that the youth association throughout the history of our university affairs has from the outset been the most ardent champion and resolute advocate of those basic studies. Basic Marxist-Leninist studies have been the FDJ's foster child, as it were; they were given full attention, and their success and authority were fought for with determination. This is the way it still is today. This is the way it has to be.

The self-evidence I am talking about must not be confused with automatism. We still need indoctrination for intensive studies; and we need help and critical issue-taking with our level of accomplishment.

If today we are jointly working on further improving the study of Marxism-Leninism and making it educationally more effective and politically more activating, we consider, for one thing, that instruction in basic Marxist-Leninist courses must be made theoretically more demanding and, with it, conducted with more relevance, militancy and party-minded passion. That is mainly a matter of our teachers' qualifications in this field.

It is good and necessary for students and their FDJ collectives and executives to have a say-so in this, to assess our accomplishments critically, frankly address matters that concern them, and bring an active influence to bear on the atmosphere and attendance in seminars.

But then we also need more effective impulses for having students on their own deal with the basic issues of Marxism-Leninism, study the works of the classic authors, and take a scientific approach to topical political events. This of course has a lot to do with how good instruction is, which must first provide such impulses. Yet without the students' proper political awareness and without their discipline and own responsibilities for their studies, we will not achieve the desired successes. Much can still be done for this by the "Youth and Socialism" contest, scientific students conferences, youth projects and so forth.

Marxism-Leninism is the crucial ideological and theoretical-methodological foundation for all the educational and training processes at our universities, colleges and technical schools.

In talking about the study of the scientific world-outlook of the workers class, we mean more than acquiring a theory and knowing concepts and laws. As Marx himself--in consequence of his doctrine--was a scientist and revolutionary at one, we also rely on the principle later formulated by Lenin that one can study communism only if one combines every step in one's schooling, education and training with the practical political struggle of the workers and all working people for social progress. Precisely in that sense the FDJ has always proven itself as the revolutionizing element of the students, as the shock troop, when it led



through its organization, and under party leadership, more and more students in the struggle for enforcing SED policy and staunchly looked at social and political activity, expressing firm trust in the party, as the touchstone for the application of Marxism-Leninism.

I think it particularly important to succeed better and better in conveying and acquiring practical political experiences in implementing our university and science policy and in making our scientific-technical progress prevail and combining it with the advantages of our social order.

In this context I recall quite well the central science students conference, "Party-Student-Science," held 12 years ago, also here in the Leipzig Congress Hall.

At that time we had started to conceive and practice university education in line with developed socialism. Many principles and structures that have now become familiar and understood were introduced at that time and had to stand their test. In implementation of our tried and tested principle of the unity of theory and practice in university education, there arose, e.g., in the late 1960's the concept of the so-called scientific-productive studies. During their studies students are to perform effective practical scientific work and thereby promote the appropriation and application of science.

The 1971 conference called on all students to use the then new conditions in university and technical school affairs to raise the level of their studies and to take an active part in further implementing the party's university policy. Thereby the youth association continued the line of the 1950's, when the students of the young workers and farmers power were mobilized for an assault on the "science fortress."

Today our universities and technical schools are facing tasks that require the commitment of the students, their youth association and all members of our highest educational institutions to an unprecedented degree. The role of science and coping with it have become of ever greater weight, and Comrade Erich Honecker, at the important international science conference in honor of Karl Marx recently, reiterated that the "needed tempo of our science progress calls for combining the advantages of socialism more closely with the scientific-technical revolution." And furthermore, he heightened that demand by stating: "We are making no secret of the fact, however, that socialism, in our view, offers greater opportunities for science effectiveness than have thus far been made use of."\* Who else should have to make use of them, dear friends, but you, our future scientists, technicians, designers and project planners? And who but the socialist youth association, working together with the teaching staffs, should mobilize our students for it?

After the Politburo resolution of 18 March 1980 on the tasks of the universities and colleges in the developed socialist society, and after our Fifth University Conference, we are now in the process of enforcing a perceptibly higher level

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\*Cf. "E. Honecker's Speech at the International Science Conference, 'Karl Marx and Our Time--The Struggle for Peace and Social Progress,' 11 to 16 April 1983 in Berlin," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 12 April 1983, p 4.

of student training while developing a broader performance peak. That is demanded mainly by the surely well known requirements placed on science and the scientists in implementation of our social and, particularly, our economic, strategy. Science has grown into a new role. It is expected to provide the crucial impulses and solutions for further advances in all fields. Moreover, international developments and science development itself lend increasing weight to the time factor in scientific work.

Actually the GDR is in good shape--even in international terms--as to its proportion of highly qualified university and technical school personnel, the proportion it holds in the working population. Making a much more efficient use of this great potential and, above all, training the kind of scientists that can perform genuine top achievements--that is today the priority issue in our science policy.

These are demands our university and technical school affairs have to focus on. In principle, a student must already be prepared for future tasks that are not even quite foreseeable as yet.

What matters is to develop further what has proven itself, to make a much better use of the existing favorable conditions, and to conform with the future objective requirements placed on socialist university and technical school graduates. Studies themselves make higher and partly new demands on the students, in the coping with which teaching staffs and the youth association have to work closely together. Some of the essential problems I would like to comment on in the following.

(1) What is decisive and basic, and what is more than ever expected of a student is his readiness to make the fullest use of his performance capability. Against that are gaged study attitude and study discipline. There are, as one knows, great diversities in the will to perform. Here again the instruction level is the crucial factor for arousing any commitment. Together with the youth association we must attempt to make the performance drive the proper conduct in each students collective and give more shape to socially significant personal motives, including more effective moral and material recognition for fine achievements. A political atmosphere is necessary in which the performance drive is regarded as a first-rate criterion for personality development and practiced that way. A good average, some higher mediocrity, no longer suffices; we need a broadly developed and differentiated peak on top of a higher training level as such. On that basis it becomes a matter of improving all students' performance but also of promoting the most capable ones faster and farther. Here the university teacher has to use great discrimination in working with his students. That alone makes possible spotting in time and developing rapidly the top performers, our science talents, so urgently needed by our society. What with all the efforts made here, our progress has still been too slow.

Our ideological approach to this matter is too often still burdened by thinking in terms of average grades. Yet grades and their arithmetic averages are not adequate as crucial criteria for science talent. With discrimination, much less conventionally and with much less reservation we must favor the promotion of talented students who perform well and more purposefully resort in this to

opportunities such as transfer to other universities, temporary enrolments in other science institutions, taking care of parts of the studies at partnership universities in other socialist countries, domestic and foreign guest instructors and so forth. This gives the best students the opportunity to take courses from the best university teachers in their particular field of specialization or to specialize in a particular field. The university teacher's work done individually with the best students must be considered decisive for any success.

(2) In training university and technical school staffs we must practice a new style of academic instruction and study, informed with the special responsibility the teacher has in the training process and with the increasing sense of community between teachers and students working in and with science; this is shaped, above all, by the students' growing responsibility and independence of their own in coping with their studies. From that vantage point we do what we can to develop a greater readiness still and more opportunities among the students to deal with science on their own. That calls as much for science enthusiasm and for enthusiasm for their future profession as for learning the scientific craft, the methods for independent scientific work.

Here again I must place this demand, first and foremost, on the level of instruction. Scientific work itself is what best teaches enthusiasm for science. Irreplaceable in this connection, however, is the political work of the youth association, which promotes commitment and responsibility for studies and makes sure they will not cease when the door of the auditorium or the laboratory is shut.

Impressive examples in this regard are the youth projects that are found in all universities, colleges and technical schools. Their resonance among students is broad. They have become genuine testing grounds for scientific and social commitment. The actual scientific result achieved there is not the only benefit our society derives from it. Decisive, as it turns out, has been--and the youth association has time and again attributed great value to it--that through the activity in youth projects something unique is done for the personality development of the students involved, mainly for their attitude toward science, their profession, and society as such. Through working on socially significant topics, the purpose of one's own scientific work becomes more apparent. In taking part in scientific work, one faces new social requirements, be it the reduction of time frames in which to cope with such projects, finding solutions that obviate the need for imports, interdisciplinary projects and the like.

Finally, practical political experiences are gained concerning the social utilization of scientific data and the problems in implementing innovations and in the responsibility of the scientist. Together with the FDJ we shall continue to promote the work on youth projects and, with it, see to it that what has proven itself there will be more broadly applied also in other forms of the students' science activities and in training altogether.

The scope that independent scientific work by our students has already been reached may be shown by an excerpt from the assessment of research for 1982 which the staff of the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs dealt with last Monday. It states plainly and objectively: "The student research capacity in 1980 came to 5,420 full employment units. In 1982, it rose to 5,878 full employment units. On the average, the students' proportion of the overall research capacity at universities and colleges came to 36 percent, at some colleges to over 40 percent (THM, THI, IH Zi)."

Truly imagine what these figures mean. They prominently express the new quality and line of our academic policy and teaching methods. The students take care of one third of our research potential. That is something indeed. But reserves are to be found there still.

The report goes on to say: "Involving the students in scientific work is done within the framework of scientific-productive activity, especially in youth projects, student circles and students' rationalization and design bureaus, through documentations, theses and dissertations and in conducting the practical year, within the MMM (Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow) movement and through assistantships. In most cases students were assigned ambitious tasks in the academic research plans. Circa 83 percent of the students working for a degree in the natural sciences and technical fields worked on tasks in the science and technology plans.

"Youth projects facilitating long-range and steady familiarization of students with research tasks that are effective in practice were regarded throughout as particularly effective forms of research work by students. In 1982, universities and colleges sponsored 742 youth projects, 24 more than in the previous year. Youth projects were aimed more at academic major tasking areas, and new youth projects were assigned especially to cope with tasks in the national plan.

"Along with the systematic and long-range involvement of students in research work, many operational tasks for partners in the practical field were handled by student capacities, with the idea of immediate use or decision preparation. The close tie-in between the research tasks and the public customers enhances the students' research work. The Karl-Marx-Stadt Technical College has had good experiences with introducing the simplified tasking workbooks as management tools.

"Scientific students conferences, academic performance shows and the Eighth Central Performance Show of Students and Young Scientists in Leipzig were used purposefully to stimulate the students' research performance. Good incentives furthermore also were personal promotional contracts for long-term assignment to research work and the recognition of excellent performances as examinations or engineering documentation for degrees and involving the students with their own contributions in research justifications and in publications. Students played a significant role in preparing as many as 47 patents. Some colleges (HUB, FSU, TUD, THI, THLM, IH Zi) involved the students more in the construction of science equipment.

"Altogether, the performance improvement in student research is due to our having improved the state management cooperation with FDJ executives, a better concentration of tasks on research priorities, and a more solid integration of students in research collectives. Also the variety of forms used in most colleges for involving the students in scientific work and the use made of all opportunities to acknowledge high achievements have helped improve the level of student research." Thus far the report.

To improve conditions for the students' independent scientific work, we have, as one knows, introduced in this school year extended periods unoccupied by scheduled classroom time. After our first practical experiences we may say that teachers and students welcome this measure and are dedicated to making an

effective use of this new opportunity. The FDJ is playing an active role in it in having brought an effective influence to bear on the preparing and public control of the results brought about by the time kept free from scheduled classroom activities. The most important thing now is, I believe, to see to it more consistently still that what actually results from it is that the students will become more independent in doing their scientific work. What they are actually supposed to learn is finding their own working style that will allow an optimum time utilization. But that is only possible if the free time is used with discrimination and flexibly and the student makes use of the broad palette of possibilities for independent and creative work as offered by our society. To be taken into account of course are the variety of objectives in the various fields of specialization and that students cannot all perform on the same level though generally the requirements are increasing systematically. Nor does this preclude that some may have to be forced to acquire during that time what others already have mastered.

(3) One of the most important aims of the third university reform is to implement the role and position of the students as responsible coshapers of social and scientific-technical progress in the GDR. Even back at the already mentioned students conference 12 years ago we pointed out that this new position would form, not through administrative measures, but through active political and scientific work, the socialist cooperative efforts of teachers and students in fulfilment of the tasks of colleges and sections.

Through an equal and fully responsible membership in the social and science councils and the sectional college councils, the youth association gained the opportunity and the right to take part actively in the shaping of socialist society. Many students have since worked actively on those bodies. But it seems to me that the obligation and responsibility with which they were charged, to be representatives of students interests, can and must still more actively be exercised by them. In genuine partnership with the teaching staffs, the FDJ ought to place more active and critical emphases on its position in the councils.

Let me mention just one problem where I would like to see particularly a more critical stand taken by the youth association that is working in alliance with us: Getting beyond our being behind in training a new science generation.

In research study in 1982, only 63.5 percent of the planned graduate volume was attained, which means that one out of every three students did not finish according to plan (which includes the scheduled deadlines too). That was explained by individual study extensions, partly because insufficiently thorough theme assignments, by too much time used up in applying practical efforts in laboratories, in setting up and finishing projects on testing and experimental devices, and partly also by personal reasons. In completing, according to plan, science candidacies in time toward an "A" promotion the result was still worse. The graduation plan was fulfilled only up to 49.2 percent, not even half, that is.

Academic instructors do not sufficiently meet their great responsibility for training a new generation of scientists.

Some details about that with regard to the prestigious universities which bear a special responsibility for training a new generation of scientists: In 1982, they met the enrolment for candidacies only up to 68 percent, which means they were short 94 young people even at the start. They did meet their research study program.

University graduates of research students came to 66.2 percent, of regular candidates to 38.9 percent, which means they were short 245 young doctorates. The only exception among the universities was Dresden's Technical University, which did meet its plan tasks. Other colleges are no better than the universities. I had to call in the deans of universities and colleges that had remained behind to get their personal explanations. The main responsibility is theirs. Yet let me ask at this point: What does the FDJ have to say about that--in its groups and executives and competent councils?

There are other such matters where some fresh wind has to blow and where I would request assistance from the youth association. Some cues here would be: Observing and fulfilling study plans, coordination among the instructors, and so forth. Who could know it better than the student and his socialist youth association? He should talk about it, and deans and department chiefs should promote it.

(4) Of ever greater importance for the scientific productivity and social effectiveness of the university and technical school graduates is their broad intellectual-cultural profile. Not everyone of course first has to publish poems prior to his doctoral dissertation--like Marx. Yet this amounts to more than a reference to the arts and leisure time activities. The classic authors of our world-outlook and many outstanding scientists have provided vivid examples for that creativity prospers most on the basis of a fine general education and through the ample relations a personality maintains with the environment. That has something to do with the culture of intellectual and scientific work, which includes interdisciplinary thought, the ability and readiness to cooperate, scientific debate, and the ability to work with people. Instruction must be focused more strongly at that; and that also is the purpose of our budget in leisure time.

Marx is with us. That is demonstrated by our conference. His work lives on in our ideas and in our social relations. Taking Marx along into the future in this sense and bringing his ideals to realization in every way is up to you and the future generations.

The socialist youth association, the FDJ, its functionaries and all its members in our universities, colleges and technical schools should enjoy much success, I wish, in dealing with our great and beautiful tasks of giving rise to an efficient and politically conscious socialist intelligentsia and in coping with and applying science for the sake of the developed socialist society. I thank you for your dedicated efforts, without which our universities, colleges and technical schools would be inconceivable.

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BOOK ON LOCAL PROTESTANT CHURCH'S HISTORY REVIEWED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 16 No 6, Jun 83 pp 647-650

/Text/ "Church and Christians in the GDR--An Exemplary Work"--Review by Angelika Schmidt-Biesalski, free-lance journalist, Pullach, FRG, of book "Die evangelischen Kirchen in der DDR. Beitrage zu einer Bestandsaufnahme" (The Protestant Churches in the GDR --Contributions to an Understanding of the State of the Art) edited by Reinhard Henkys, director, Protestant Journalist Center, West Berlin; published by Chr.Kaiser Verlag, Munich, 484 pages, DM327

/Text/ The foreword to the manual "The Protestant Churches in the GDR--Contributions to an Understanding of the State of the Art," edited by Reinhard Henkys, states: "Where the relationship of a Christian Church to the communist state is a permanent topic, we must ask who represents this Church, how it lives and what it does. This book aims to provide such information." And information is just what this book provides, comprehensively and with ample data; at the same time it is well organized, and many of the contributions are concrete and clear. It is a manual that serves as more than a work of reference--although it is certainly that --, it is something to be read closely. I myself read some of the contributions with a good deal of excitement. Additional marginal notes on each page, containing summaries of the text and important quotations, are extremely helpful for the user of the book.

Reinhard Henkys, director, Protestant Journalist Center, West Berlin, is considered the foremost Western expert of the churches' situation in the GDR. The 10 exclusively West German authors whose contributions (in addition to 3 of his) are assembled in this book, are mostly members of the staff of the Journalist Center; all of them have a profound and old-established knowledge of the groups of topics they discuss. At the same time the methods and styles vary; some writers tend to be more abstract and analytical, others more descriptive. Each contribution is complete in itself.

The total of 12 groups of topics may be summarized under three main headings: Church and state, with contributions on the "Church in Socialism, on theology in the GDR and on the theory and practice of the SED with respect to the churches and religion; spheres of Church action, from ecumenics to charitable work, youth work, educational and publicity efforts and ranging through peace responsibility; and lastly, as the third main heading, some kind of prediction how and in what direction a Church will or may develop, that is certainly no longer a popular church. An appendix yields a bibliography, a register and list of names, addresses and data on church associations, regional churches and major ecclesiastical organizations in the GDR.

As the foreword says: "The point of interest in description and analysis is emphasis on the present and prospects for the future. The historic development in the more than 30 years of the GDR is illuminated mainly when this serves comprehension of the present. The book therefore deals with the Protestant churches in the GDR in the years after the basic accommodation between state and Church, arrived at when Honecker and Schoenherr met on 6 March 1978." A milestone in the history of the Church in the GDR, a meeting that has by now affected all congregations, because Christians have since become more self-confident, because--even when we disregard the definite agreements then concluded--we cannot possibly overestimate the importance of the fact that this summit meeting of representatives of state and Church was reported on the front page of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, citing the full text and complete with photographs. The remark by Marxist historian Gerhard Brendler, "we must at last appreciate that socialism is here happening in a baptized country" requires this background. In his introductory contribution "Church--State--Society," Reinhard Henkys describes how this "crucial orientation data for state and Church in their reciprocal relationship came about." He sets out nine propositions that he deals with in great detail. The churches in the GDR are the only major organizations in the country to keep their autonomy and are acknowledge to have social relevance. The condition for this status, though, was the legal and organizational separation from the Protestant Church of Germany, completed in 1969. It is a matter of course that state and Church in the GDR are separated, nevertheless the "state-Church relationship includes elements of partnership." This should not be taken to signify that the ideological antagonism between party and Church could be resolved. The Protestant churches yield up their privileges and do not indulge in political opposition; this provides them with a freedom of action that is often greater than their possibilities for making use of it. Proposition 9 summarizes it all: "Decisive for the respect accorded the Church by the state and society of the GDR are not the membership figures, financial resources or legal status of the Church but the very real presence of Christians in GDR society."

"The Church in socialism" is the formula first used (it seems) in early 1968 by then Thuringian Land Bishop Moritz Mitzenheim and adopted by the Federal Synod in 1971. To this day it is a formula many people--there as here--find hard to assimilate. The "Church in socialism" is more than a definition, it is also a program. In his contribution Hans-Juergen Roeder, since 1980 permanent correspondent of the Protestant Press Service (epd) in the GDR, traces the history of the GDR Church as "Church in socialism," a Church that, as phrased by the 1971 Federal Synod, "cannot (live) against the others, without the others but also not like the others." A Church very much aware of its context, that deals with and comes to grips with it. Hans-Juergen Roder also emphasizes that the representation of Christians in society is crucial for the significance of the "Church in socialism." Proclamation of the message is no longer confined to the closed precincts of the Church but increasingly occurs in frank talks even outside the church. And since proclamation of the message happens in social life and in common work of Christians and non-Christians, it can be credible for the non-Christian only if his social context is included in it. The Protestant churches in the GDR intend to express no more but no less either, by clinging to the abbreviated phrase coined in 1971--"Church in socialism."

The meaning of the phrase "very real presence of Christians" is described in six contributions devoted to the various key headings of the Church's work. I consider it the particular strength and importance of the book that these chapters (their



length also makes them the most important ones in the book) describe in detail and by way of many examples just what this "Church in socialism" is doing, and how it does it. In the works of charity, for example, where--as author Martin Reuer states, "society sees demonstrated just what the Church is and in a manner it can understand." In no other field is the Church able in a comparable manner to assume a direct and independent responsibility or be so appreciated by the state as it is in health care and social welfare. The opportunities for the GDR churches with regard to works of charity are unique in the entire Eastern Bloc. After an early stage of obstruction and restriction on charity work, the state now counts on the churches' commitment in this sector and depends on it. The Protestant Church maintains 47 hospitals with 6,700 beds; 47 percent of the most severely handicapped persons live in Church facilities. Since 1975 the GDR Government, the Church and its charitable institutions have a training agreement, and street collections for the churches' charitable work are permitted once a year. Of course the state is interested in the Church carrying out duties--maybe as a stopgap--that are particularly difficult and not very pleasant, but the Church is able to particularly effectively here. Martin Reuer cites several examples while also clearly showing the limits of this work.

Another key concern of Church efforts is work with young people. In recent years more and more young people have come to attend Church events. Often many youths come from far and wide to attend youth Sundays or special youth services offered by the youth ministry of the various regional churches. They seek--and apparently find--in the Church some elbow room for their own development, inspiration and a sense of belonging not offered by the state youth organization. Peter Wensierski (editor in charge of the correspondence on "Church in Socialism") is the first to describe Protestant youth work in the GDR in great detail and backs them by many observations and concrete examples. Who are the youths who attend the Young Congregations and why, what is the substance of the Young Congregations' work generally, their organization of leisure, their work with school pupils, workers and rural youth? Open-ended youth work and problems of this work are the catchwords to which Wensierski's contribution provides ample information and suggestions. Disregarding the many obstacles to and restrictions on Church youth work imposed by the state, problems have arisen in recent years even within the Church, related to the consciousness and motivation of the young people wishing to be involved in Church youth groups and youth events. "The majority of the young people in the Young Congregations are not of a mind to go to church; first of all they join a youth group of the institution called Church, an institution that they are generally not at all interested in. For many the Church remains a strange institution, and most of them have little understanding for religious opinions. Occasionally adults and young Christians are baptized. Only a very small minority believe in 'God' in the traditional meaning." Still, Peter Wensierski cites many proofs that this work evidently exerts increasing attraction, despite many and occasionally aggressive attempts by the state (admittedly mainly in the past) to cripple Church youth work.

Still, the varied and committed work of the churches in the GDR--in other fields also, that are comprehensively dealt with in the book--must not be allowed to disguise the fact that the Church in the GDR is a minority institution involving barely more than 20 percent of the population as active members. No exact figures are available. It is a voluntary church, and a church of deliberate choice. It is certainly no longer a popular church. Nevertheless it continues to operate within

the structures of a popular church. In his concluding contribution to the book, Reinhard Henkys writes: "Since the 1940's the lifestyle of Christian congregations and, therefore, the Church as a whole, has changed radically. However, we cannot assert quite so emphatically that the Church's outer life forms have changed correspondingly. The age when a popular church seemed to have a chance, is long gone. Yet, a Protestant Church in the GDR, devoid of the last residue of popular church mentality, popular church lifestyles and structures, is not even faintly discernible." The three last chapters of the book describe the Church in the GDR as a "Church in flux: From the popular church to...?" The most obvious new approaches of the Church are to be found in its congregational work in new cities where, as a rule, the percentage of Church members is well below the average of the GDR as a whole. Extensive visitations, not only by the minister but also by committed members of the congregations, are indispensable here. In many new residential districts Church work concentrates on family groups:

"Congregational work displays a change in the style of work in direction of seminars and dialogues. That applies to existing traditional groups (men's and women's groups, Young Congregations, choirs, and so on) as well as to groups with new goals (educational committees, charitable groups and family groups). Evident everywhere is a decline in weekly bible hours in favor of ad hoc bible and topical seminars. Bible weeks and congregational seminars, parent and family days or weekends are more effective and appear to provide a more satisfactory community and group experience than slowly fatiguing permanent arrangements." Peter Wensierski describes examples of such congregational work but, at the same time, points out that none of the congregations interrogated has yet given up the old structures of work with men, women and seniors; actually both types of work run concurrently. In the concluding sentence of his contribution he provides an indirect answer to the question why this should be so: "Should the congregations depart from traditional life and work styles as 'open churches,' they should also have to know very exactly what it is that distinguishes them as a church." Actually it seems to me that it is easier for the Church in the GDR to know just that, than it is for its sister churches in the FRG. These latter--in their situation as popular churches--must take far more factors into consideration, not least for financial reasons. After all, in the GDR only those are counted as Church members who conceive of themselves as Christians and participate in Church discussions, the shaping of opinions and convictions and, in a comprehensive meaning, the preaching of the Gospel. In many respects this makes the GDR Church freer, more decisive and readier to take decisions. This is demonstrated in its collaboration with the international ecumenical movement as well as in its latest comments on the discussion of the security of peace.

According to the book's foreword, the editor and various writers were concerned "to make it possible for the churches and Christians in the GDR to be understood in their context." I consider the attempt very successful indeed, because the various "Contributions to an Understanding of the State of the Art" make up a sophisticated, lively and detailed total picture. Consequently reader curiosity is satisfied, whether they wish to obtain just an overview or are interested in specific issues.

Upon reading this book we realize what we had missed up to this point.

PACIFISTS' PROTEST AGAINST HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION REPORTED

Bonn DIE WELT in German 2 Aug 83 p 4

/Article by Hans R. Karutz, datelined 'Berlin': "GDR--Problem With the Highway--In Schwerin Region Environmentalists Are Becoming Active--Worry About Natural Preserves"/

/Text/ For the first time the GDR is confronted by the aroused and growing environmentalism of Central Germans as reflected in protests against highway construction. Environmentalists from Church backgrounds, especially in Schwerin, want to achieve at least a change in the location of the planned northern section between the Hamburg highway and Wismar. The planned section, 58.5 km long, prejudices scenic and nature conservancy areas. Forty overpasses, six rest areas and three interchanges are to be constructed in the hitherto pristine region around Schwerin and Pinnow lakes.

The objections of, mainly, young Christians opposing the despoliation of the natural environment or even serious damage to the hitherto intact scenery, came to public notice for the first time in the course of the Rostock Synod: At an "ecumenical forum" in Rostock's University Church in early June, Mecklenburg Land Bishop Heinrich Rathke dealt with a question referring to this issue. He reported about an informational meeting on Church premises, when arrivals had been "checked" at the entrance, and groups of cyclists had protested along the planned section.

In actual fact the young Schwerin people (most of whom active in Church affairs) had been more or less prevented from such a protest run. On 4 and 5 June--a day celebrated in the GDR, too, as the "International Day of the Environment"--, the suspicious authorities put up signs along the roads, reading "no cyclists on 4 and 5 June."

The protests of the Mecklenburg environmentalists concern a project long envisaged by the GDR. Another north-south highway is to be constructed, because--except for the Berlin-Rostock highway--no proper link with the Baltic ports exists, and because Schwerin with its industrial centers and Wismar with its port are very important indeed.

To keep costs as low as possible, the GDR highway builders evidently waited for the completion of the new Hamburg-Berlin highway. This was paid for by the Federal Government to the tune of DM1.2 billion and now makes it possible to considerably shorten the planned GDR section and thereby save an enormous amount of money. No more than 60 km need now to be paid from GDR financial resources, and the special machinery and vehicles purchased for DM100 million from the FRG for the Hamburg highway can be used again for this latest project of GDR highway construction.

Earth moving began last April. Transit travelers on the highway to Hamburg can already spot site preparations for the construction of a new interchange at the Neustadt-Glewe exit.

GDR planners have long fixed the date of the ceremony, when the famous white ribbon across the highway is to be cut--30 June 1986.

The Magdeburg SED newspaper VOLKSSTIMME described the course of the section that intrudes in one of the most beautiful Mecklenburg landscapes and offers up a hitherto almost undeveloped region to the motorized hordes of GDR summer vacationers from the southern industrial regions.

According to this report, the section will branch off the Hamburg-Berlin highway, snake between the Schwerin Lake (entirely assigned nature conservancy status) and the equally protected Pinnow Lake, circumvent the Doepe nature conservancy in the north and, finally, connect east of Wismar with the old road 105 to Rostock. Several nature conservancies are located in the entire affected region that will be either "infringed upon" or at least sensibly affected with regard to their peace and quiet and recreational merit.

Only recently the East Berlin magazine DER DEUTSCHE STRASSENVERKEHR [German Road Traffic] recommended changing from cars to bicycles, because the motor vehicle had lost its advantages at least in city traffic and at short distances. At the same time the magazine deplored the GDR mentality of considering the car "as the highest form of movement."

In its issue No 5/1983 the same specialist organ published the latest GDR highway statistics. These indicated that currently 1,815 km of highway are in use, and that 400 km had been constructed since 1945: "Due to the increasing motorization of the GDR, its central location in Europe and the ensuing heavy transit traffic as well as the special burden on some GDR highway sections by transit traffic between the FRG and West Berlin, the highway network of our country is subject to severe wear and tear." That is why some 500 km of lanes had had to be "fundamentally reconstructed" since 1953.

Not mentioned were the considerable subsidies paid to East Berlin by Bonn--some DM1.6 billion since 1973:

- DM1.2 billion for the Berlin-Hamburg highway,
- DM214 million for the major overhaul of the Helmstedt route,
- DM45 million for the construction of a new overpass near Wartha and some kilometers of new construction between Eisenach and the border.

Moreover, East Berlin continues to levy a substantial road use charge of DM10-40 per transit car--hidden in the annual transit lump sum payment of DM525 million--and fixed until 1989.

11698

CSO: 2300/367

KOMAROM MUNICIPAL COUNCIL REORGANIZATION PRESENTED AS MODEL

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Jul 83 p 5

[Article by Jozsef Konya: "Komarom's Four Departments. The Model May Be Copied"]

[Text] I was amazed by a sentence at the Komarom Municipal Council: "Fortunately, the people hardly noticed . . ." The cause of my amazement was twofold. First, the use of the word "people" instead of "clients." And secondly, why fortunately?

"If they did not notice how much the council's internal organizational structure has changed, it means that the changeover has been smooth. We do not expect anyone to notice that his case has been handled more simply and faster. We are pleased if they regard this as something natural. The statistical data that prove the effectiveness of our work will serve only for our own gratification," explains Gyula Krajczar, secretary of the council's executive committee and also a department head. As already this dual title indicates, the Komarom Municipal Council has really abandoned the old system.

Or rather it has not. It would have been impossible and senseless to change overnight the organizational system to which the workers of the council's apparatus have been accustomed for about three decades, and so have the people, the clients, willy-nilly. It must be admitted, however, that the council had been preparing for this for a long time, purposefully and in a planned manner. It took seriously the efforts to modernize public administration and did not wait for someone to decide somewhere what has to be done so that the council may successfully serve the public weal here, in this small town of 20,000 residents.

"By the end of the 1970's, we not only asked, pondered and debated. At a session of the council's executive committee we already discussed what tangible measures could be introduced to simplify public administration, how to divide the work load of the council's apparatus more equally, and how to cut red tape for our clients. We made numerous and seemingly minor changes already then, often on the initiative of our own workers, implementing their ideas. In this spirit it was already possible to start thinking of how we could proceed further," said the secretary-department head.

## Advantages and Drawbacks

Two years later, in 1980, the council took a bigger step. It established a specialized client service, by bringing together into a joint work group those staff members from the council's departments (eight at that time) who dealt specifically with the clients' cases before the council. This had its advantages. The staff members who handled different but often interrelated matters got to know one another better, relations among them became more direct, files had a shorter distance to travel within the office, and the manager of the work group was familiar not merely with some partial area but had an overview of how all cases of the population were being handled. Simultaneous establishment of a central registry and typing pool also helped. Instead of a professional explanation that might be boring for the uninitiated, it will suffice to say that in this manner recordkeeping became more simple and manageable, there was less duplication and overlapping, and the typists' work load was distributed more evenly than before.

The local citizens enjoyed the advantages of all this, while the drawbacks were felt mostly by council officials. Administrators assigned to the specialized client service from the departments actually belonged to both the service and their departments, which often led to friction. Not to mention that the departments were reduced in size, and so were their work loads. Some of the departments consisted only of the department head and one subordinate, and the rank of general is not worth much without an army.

It would have been foolish to turn back, for the council knew it was heading in the right direction. In the absence of examples to follow, however, the council did not know exactly how to proceed further. Therefore it went searching for examples throughout Hungary, to the small towns that were experimenting--with the encouragement and support of the Office of the Council of Ministers--to develop the model of modern public administration for the council of a small town.

"We found helpful colleagues and questioned them thoroughly about the advantages and drawbacks of the various solutions. We compared everything we saw and heard with our own conditions and ideas, and we decided that the model of public administration for the council of a small town would be suitable for us if we adapt it here and there to our own conditions," recalls the secretary of the executive committee.

In the meantime, of course, the council discussed everything thoroughly. It sought advice and assistance from the municipal party committee as well as from various other forums, from everyone who wanted change. Formation of the new council organization, entirely different from the traditional one, was actually a joint effort. It has been in place since the beginning of this year and has already proved its viability within six months. (Already because, as you will recall, the people barely noticed it. After all, there are numerous obstacles to such a changeover.)

## Fewer Managers

But let us get down to brass tacks. How is the council operating now? Since January, the eight departments--retained only in their truncated form during the past few years--have been abolished, and four new departments have been



established in their place. Besides resolution of the already mentioned contradictions, another reason given to justify this reorganization is that in a town of this size it is not absolutely essential that every branch be represented by a separate department. Fewer departments also make sense because more work can be accomplished by fewer people, much unnecessary work can be saved, and larger units offer better oversight of partial areas.

The economy-organizing tasks have been consolidated in a single urban development and economy department. The various institutions belong under the education, culture, health care and sports department. Perhaps the most varied is the work of the public authority department that acts in all matters in which the council exercises public authority. Very many different matters are handled here, but in practice the procedures have many common features, and this too warrants that they be handled jointly, by staff members familiar with one another's work and able to supplement it. The secretariat likewise has been assigned a broad scope of duties: it aids the work of the council's organs, provides services for the other three departments, handles practically all housekeeping chores and also includes a work group that, in addition to its other duties, is racking its brains on further modernization and rationalization.

With the consolidation of the departments, the council obviously has fewer top officials. There are now only four department heads performing the same tasks that previously were handled by eight department heads. A full-time deputy chairman has not been elected, and instead one of the department heads has been authorized to act as the chairman's deputy. The secretary of the executive committee is also head of the secretariat. Thus the secretary not only directs and supervises, but in practice he also actually manages the work of his department.

"The consolidation was not simply a mathematical operation. It could not have been one because it affected people and their interests. The period during which we prepared our staff members for the change was not easy and free of tension. We had to talk with each of them also privately and convince them that the change was necessary. We started in due time, handled even delicate matters with understanding, and we feel that we have also met with understanding," says Gyula Krajczar.

#### Independence, Responsibility

"The people who have been demoted. Have they taken offense?"

"No, because at most only their title has changed. The former department heads are now the most knowledgeable staff members within their groups. They are better able to utilize their time and energy. They have been relieved of a host of duties they had as department heads, and their pay has not been reduced."

Rules of procedure had to be amended and also other modifications had to be made so that the council could work successfully in the new lineup. For example, the list of persons authorized to issue documents in behalf of the council has been expanded. In practice this means that qualified staff members may decide certain matters independently, and may ratify their decisions by affixing their signature and the council's seal. This again is a tricky



thing, because the broader independence of these staff members also means that their responsibility has been increased. The client's case is settled faster, but the official who might make a mistake cannot hide behind someone else's approval and signature.

This "four-department model" has affected also the work of the council as a body. The heads of the four departments are invited to the executive committee's sessions, where they assist the council's professional activity. In their turn the department heads derive the advantage of being informed directly of the most important matters. In other words, the intermediate "transmitting" stage has become unnecessary.

"Can this model be copied?"

"On the basis of the results during the first six months, I can recommend this model also to other small towns. Of course, each of them must take its own specific conditions and possibilities into consideration. First they should survey what they have done for simplification so far, because it is impossible to introduce changes overnight. And something else that is very important: You can get this far only by democratic methods. It is not enough that the majority understands and approves. It is also necessary to square things with everyone personally."

1014

CSO: 2500/385

## COMMENTATOR ASSESSES VIABILITY OF NEW LEGISLATION

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 32, 6 Aug 83 p 16

[Article by KTT: "Dura Lex"]

[Text] There is nothing to hide: the last weeks prior to the suspension of martial law and the session which took place on 22 July 1983 were dedicated by the Sejm mostly to the debate and adoption of the so-called "hard" laws. I write "mostly" dedicated since it isn't possible after all to overlook the fact that these "hard" laws and also "hard" amendments and addenda to existing laws have been adopted as additions to two important provisions which have absolutely liberalized relations in our country, the provisions to suspend martial law and the amnesty decree. The liberal character of this restoration has been decided more than anything by these two documents which have cleansed Poland not only of its sickly legal anomaly but also of its tragic human conflict.

Therefore, pure legislative logic is one thing and public feelings toward it and the mood it creates are something else altogether. In private opinions and conversations, one at this time very frequently encounters, along with a feeling of relief, fears that the suspension of martial law will be accompanied by a legal system which to a certain degree will limit the range of civil freedoms and reduce the effect of a return to normalcy.

It would be dishonest to disregard these moods or regard them as hostile rumors the dissemination of which, so to speak, is punishable under the new legal regulations. It is a fact that the law on the range of authority of the Ministry of Internal Affairs has broadened and expressed its powers, special legal regulation during the crisis period has intensified certain existing restrictions (for example, the refusal by employees to work) and that new changes made in the law on the control of publications and public gatherings and the criminal code are of a harsher character. In its official commentaries, the government has not tried to hide this. If anyone tries to deny this, he is not telling the truth and cannot be taken seriously.

The real question, however, that a journalist should ask of himself is what sort of attitude to these facts he should suggest to his readers, if proposing attitudes to readers is the duty of a journalist (and I am personally convinced that it is).

In my opinion, the facts must be looked at realistically. We have had numerous occasions to ascertain that a peculiar trait of Gen Jaruzelski is that he says what he thinks and does what he says. Both the premier himself and his ministers

often repeated during martial law that there will be no return to the conditions that existed prior to August 1980 nor to those of before December 1981. Therefore, the shared intention, undenied by anyone, of all of the presently introduced regulations is to simply make it impossible for many of the situations of the years of 1980 and 1981 to occur such as chaotic and gratuitous striking, the spreading through the streets of ever-stranger demonstrations, the unforgettable blockade of the street-car circle in Warsaw, the inundation of the nation in a flood of the most sophisticated and always anti-government writings and the paralysis of any sort of management decisions. We know, and I recently wrote about this, that not only are these situations the source of the crisis that we have and are surviving but also its drastic symptoms. The government, striving to prevent a recurrence of the same disease, also hopes that another such outbreak, if one occurs, will have other and less troublesome symptoms. It also hopes that the still-unextinguished conflicts will not flare up again in their traditional forms.

Thus, in introducing "hard" laws and addenda, no one is tricking or deceiving anyone. The new laws and their addenda were something that could be expected and they issue from the logic of situation.

At this point, it must be said for the sake of realism that the very concept of "hard" decisions is a very relative idea: "hard" in relation to what? If this is applied to those times in which practically no law existed and many others were forced through by the threat of strikes, then I agree that they are "hard". But if they are compared to the legal system and even more so to the legal and administrative practice under which we have lived for the last 10 years, they couldn't be spoken of in the same way. I remember when it wasn't possible to say anything bad about the psychopath and butcher of Uganda, Idi Amin, since it wasn't permitted to criticize the heads of foreign states. Any criticism of Idi Amin was thus regarded as undermining the interests of the state. However, in the face of all of these objections, let's speak sincerely: if we had received a censorship law in 1975 or 1976 like the present one we would have all jumped for joy.

I don't want to say that we must be glad about things as they are. We must never be satisfied with the situation that we are in because that would mean the end of growth. Society has grown, matured and experienced something that will never be erased from its consciousness. For that reason, it would be impossible to return to the way things were before August 1980. It is, however, also impossible to return to the illusions for which we have had to pay so dearly.

Considering the new legal regulations of a "hard" nature which are far from ideal, I thus think we must constantly be aware of what I consider to be the most important matter. It is worth keeping in mind that the majority of violations of the law in postwar Poland, for example, in the first half of the 1950's, usually took place with the blessing of laws full of formulations of liberty, freedom and inalienable civil rights. One could dare say that the function of the laws then was the utterance of lofty declarations which were regarded as definitive confessions of faith without much connection to current legal practice.

Thus, the essential and most important problem concerns literal treatment of written law. Law is law when it speaks realistically and factually. From good law such as ancient Roman law, one can learn everything about the state, its society, its greatness and its cruelty. Law which is merely a description of Utopia always arouses suspicion. I feel that the entire legislative bustle which we are all witnessing at this time has just that intention. The government wants to obtain or preserve certain prerogatives because without them it has no way of effectively ruling but this also shows its intention of acting according to law. Sincerely speaking, this is a new and unknown situation for the generation raised in postwar Poland. We do know how great the discrepancy can be between declared principles and practice and for many people this discrepancy seems to be the essence of their experience. These persons now bluntly ask themselves why. Why propose and adopt hard-sounding laws when you can do everything without bothering yourself with legal nonsense?

It is all a matter of the fact that it shouldn't be possible to act without the sanction of law. If the experience that we have gained and the great agitation of emotions and intellect is to serve anything at all, then one of the conclusions made should be to return to the old maxim of "dura lex - sed lex". This is a maxim that must work both ways, in the laws that the government applies to citizens and the laws that the citizens have in relation to the government.

No law ever could or can be effective when people are unwilling or unable to use it. When the first legal proceedings are initiated by a citizen, publisher, journal or organization against the state authorities for a violation of principles contained in these "hard" laws, we will be able to say that we have entered a new legal order and that normalization is a fact.

12261

2600/1182

## JOURNALISTS DISCUSS PROBLEMS AT COUNCIL PLENUM

Bucharest PRESCA NOASTRA in Romanian Apr 83 pp 1-16, 33

[Plenum of the Council of Journalists of the Socialist Republic of Romania]

[Excerpts] On Saturday, 9 April 1983, a plenum of the Council of Journalists of the Socialist Republic of Romania was held, analyzing and discussing the tasks assigned to the press by the decisions of the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party and the guidelines and directives of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, for the implementation of the objectives established by the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party.

Maria Costache, chief editor of the review FEMEIA said: The National Conference of the party placed special emphasis on ensuring economic effectiveness and profitability in all fields. What can we say about the way in which FEMEIA is achieving this effectiveness?

This year we have a planned monthly circulation of 410,000 copies, compared to 360,000 copies last year. The review is in demand; we publish 20,000-30,000 issues more than the planned circulation and we do not have any copies left over; we realize large profits. We are trying to adapt to the restrictions imposed for the reduction of costs. But under the conditions of an increase in selling price and the same number of pages, the paper enterprises have recently reduced the quality of the paper. There has been a reduction in the number of color photographs and restrictions have begun to be placed upon us in the mock-up of the review, calling for the eliminating of graphic effects. I do not think that it is fair for both the "Casa Scinteia" Printing Combine and the paper enterprises to achieve a false effectiveness by reducing the quality of the services which they offer to us. Since a number of publications are faced with such difficulties, I think that a discussion should be held with those involved, with the participation of the press section of the party Central Committee.

We must say that we are not satisfied with the way in which all our good intentions are carried out. We still have much to do to exercise a strong educational influence on the awareness of the masses of women, to increase their participation, in a more responsible and more effective manner in the entire production activity. We are not always successful, both in political commentaries and in economic articles, in detaching ourselves from the daily press, using the methods proper to the publication, so that the readers will not have the feeling that they are reading the same thing everywhere.

George G. Potra, chief editor of the Editorial Board of Publications for Foreign Countries, said: In our reviews we have given a well-defined place to documented replies on those very subjects which have been the favorite topics of the denigrations and calumnious attacks of political or press circles in various Western states. In this context, I would like to express, once again, my total disagreement with the practices of some so-called journalists in those states who, coming to Romania and benefiting from all the conditions for information and documentation placed at their disposal, violate their trust in a coarse manner, going so far as to cancel the most elementary obligations, the basic duty to serve truth, knowledge, understanding, cooperation and peace.

Nicolae Dan Fruntelata, chief editor of LUCEAFARUL, said: In our period which history calls by the name of the one who restored the status of dignity and freedom to the great intellectual values--the epoch of Nicolae Ceausescu--the fact that some basic works--the complete works of Eminescu, Calinescu's history of literature, for example--are being republished has become a natural, but very important, act of culture and patriotism. Just as natural is the reply which we should give to the denigrating slander of those who are attempting, from their microphones paid from the funds of some "charitable" nests of espionage, to discredit Romanian culture and to convince those who are poor in spirit or awareness that Romanian literature and concern for the country and the truth have changed overnight in the basements of Western metropolises.

CSO: 2700/290

# EFFECT OF URBANIZATION ON VILLAGES

Iasi CRONICA in Romanian 8 Jul 83 p 3

[Roundtable discussion with comments by Vasile Miftode, Adrian Neculau, Emilian Bujor, and Ilie Badescu, interviewed by Al. Iacobescu and Fl. Micsan]

[Text] [Question] Some of the issues which we would like to discuss here are the effects of the urbanization process on the Romanian village, and the future of the village in the light of Romania's socioeconomic development. These problems unquestionably have both social and economic implications, being associated with the new agrarian revolution and with the consolidation of structures that can raise rural life to the level of the major objectives that are facing it (that are facing us). An awareness of these objectives contributes to the transformation of the village and helps raise it to levels of culture and civilization which will affect it historically and integrate it ever more efficiently into our socialist life.

[E. Bujor] As Nicolae Ceausescu indicated at the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the RCP of 1-2 June 1982, "the struggle between the old and the new will continue to manifest itself and will become the force of progress in human society. The dialectic law of the struggle of opposites and contradictions is also manifest in socialism, and will undoubtedly also be manifest in one form or another in communist society." The existence of contradictions in socialism must therefore not be taken as one of its weaknesses. These contradictions cannot be resolved through denial, but through the study, knowledge, and understanding of that which will cause them to become positive. This is the context in which we view the contradictions between village and city, and between rural and urban culture and civilization. Our discussions today must be based on that which is common and unifying in Romanian society, independently of type of community (rural or urban), while disclosing the specific features of each area as well as the trend to modernization in rural life.

[I. Badescu] The future of the peasantry is tied into the future of agrarian systems and agriculture. The directions in which the economic structure of agriculture evolves will be the directions in which this satellite class moves. But in any case, the peasantry's cultural system and its societal



structures will prove their functionality for a long time to come. The changes in villages began with the penetration of capitalism. The violent uprooting of the peasant from the "natural" structures of his world has generated one of the most dramatic changes in Romanian civilization, resulting in a phenomenon of cultural decentralization and expressing what we might call the peasantry's odyssey.

[V. Miftode] During the past decades, a great deal has been written--here and elsewhere--about the urban and industrial explosion, about the disappearance of the peasantry and the engulfing of villages by cities, about the virtues of urbanization and the shortcomings of rural life, about the "mirage" of the city and rural exodus, about the superiority of urban values and the yearning of village communities for these values, and about many trends and phenomena involved in the rural-urban "metabolism" which so strongly mark the evolution of contemporary society and powerfully shapes the destiny of human personalities.

How much of this is theory and how much is practice? In other words, how many of these phenomena and aspirations, trends and strivings--explainable from a human standpoint--have had a scientific reasoning and concrete foundation, and how many were the fruit of an enthusiasm of ideas or of an inadequate theoretical transplantation? What has the urban explosion led to, and especially, where do we expect it to lead us (based on the consequences which we already feel and the forecasts already made)?

According to some interpreters, urban concentration offers job possibilities and a variety of life styles that are not comparable to those offered by rural settlements. Population density facilitates complex relations among people, but also causes a number of problems which lead to a centrifugal phenomenon of avoiding congested areas. The goal of the systematization action for urban and rural settlements is to create for the population the advantages of a life with broad culture and civilization prospects.

[E. Bujor] There is no doubt that as a multifunctional socioeconomic reality, as well as a socio-human, anthropologic, and ethnographic reality, the structure of the modern village is subjected to a strong transformation and development process unprecedented in history. Despite this, it continues to have its own profound meaning and existence, different from those of a city, and in constant impact with the city. Its geographic and functional ecosystem is increasingly complemented in various proportions with new economic, material, sociopolitical, cultural, and educational features, and with absolutely new aspects in its morphology.

Today, the village appears as a dominant human settlement in Romania's geographic profile, with its specific and complex physiognomy profited by the existence of a village center, which is being more accurately defined by recent legislation as well as by a newly acquired functionality derived from the use of land for more or less visible elements of an urban nature: the existence of a work place, of members of the village community, and of cultivated land which also has undergone many qualitative and structural

changes, whose effects have been that work has been rewarded in the measure of the material and scientific efforts made by our society. From this scientific standpoint, the village is and remains a true multifunctional economic reality, as well as a historical and ethnographic reality which will retain and must retain its particular nature as long as human society exists. That the "death of the village" theory is unfounded, is also supported by the fact that the village appears as a materialization of socio-human and territorial-economic features in which the territory is the arena for the actions of people and society, as well as the place which gathers together housing and buildings, the habitat. In fulfilling residential and production functions, the contemporary Romanian village is the micro-society in which we will encounter partially and inhomogeneously distributed, physical or intellectual, economic or cultural-educational activities--in a range that is significant and increasingly more developed professionally than the one we know from the village of yesterday.

[A. Neculau] The Romanian mentality, the psycho-sociological profits of the Romanian people was without question born and shaped in the village. Specialists who have researched the major psycho-sociological traits of our people, have identified them as arising from the values and behavior carried and promoted by villagers. D. Draghicescu, S. Mehedinti, C. Radulescu-Motru, Nicolae Iorga, L. Rebreanu, and closer to our times, Ath. Joja, N. Margineanu, and C. Noica have equated the Romanian people with the perenniality of the village. The research of the Bucharest School of Sociology was also conducted in the village, and the most important work of this school's representatives--D. Gusti, H. H. Stahl, and Tr. Herseni--investigate this universe in which values are preserved, the village. Recently, a young assistant in our university in Iasi, Luminita Iacob, identified several traits which might define the psycho-sociological profile of our people--humanity, a sense of measure, creative adaptability, a sense of nature, and patriotism. All of these values have been preserved and can be identified today also because the village has preserved and transmitted them. Through a certain conservatism, through a systematic refusal of uninspired and inadequate innovations, the village, as a defining psycho-social trait, has fulfilled the function of repository for all that is of perennial value. I believe that it still performs this function today, despite all the new acquisitions and the influence of the mass media. The village knows how to select!

[V. Miftode] Life and the experience of social development forces us to investigate the relation between rural and urban values openly and incisively, because in our opinion, we have theorized much too much about the superiority of urban life and the need for urbanization, not only of space (physical, ecologic) but of man as well, placing at an inferior level, if I may say so, rural life and its values. In our discussions we might ask ourselves: what did the village contribute to the city all along, and what did it receive in return? How would our planet (the question is raised at a planetary, global, universal level) look today without the village, without its strength for development, individualization, and creation?

Here we can quote Herseni. This is what he has to say about the cultivation of the masses: "This giant movement toward information and cultivation is amplified in our times by such means of mass communication (mass media) as the press (newspapers and magazines), radio, television, and tape recorders, which have accurately been qualified as daily transporters of culture in its most varied forms into the people's households. There are great differences between a household with radio and television and one that does not have them; in the first, information and culture are part--in a smaller or greater degree--of the actual family structure and life, while in the second, life continues in a traditional, very outdated, mode."

[A. Neculau] The fact is--and we must acknowledge it--that we sometimes observe a decay of moral values in villages. The specialists assert that delinquency in the rural environment is primarily the doing of those who are working or have worked in the city. At the same time, the authors of many infractions in the city are those who come from the rural environment or who have been recently urbanized. These rur-urbans, often neither peasants nor town people, select according to their own criteria marginal values and styles of behavior. In actuality, they belong to neither of the two worlds, are not integrated in any socio-affective structure, and thus form a world apart. The village controls and guides the bad ones, and the city assimilates and integrates into the urban culture those who are stable. But those with a dual status escape both types of influence. From this standpoint, professional and social stabilization in the rural environment will have beneficial effects. Man will know that he belongs to the village, will once more experience the effect of peer pressure, and will no longer be able to evade the social control of others.

[Question] The actual goal of urbanization is integration at a higher level of civilization.

[I. Badescu] It should be pointed out that urbanization theories based on western models are not valid in societies which have inherited structures that are predominantly agrarian-peasant, such as in our case. Romanian research in urbanization has attempted to define a concept of boundary between the village and the city, a "rururban" type and structure. Beyond its coinage, the word discloses the mixing, blending of rural and urban cultural traits which Romanian sociologists have been investigating since the beginning of the 20th century. Along these lines, Ibraileanu concluded that in the future, as modernization becomes widespread, the phenomenon of cultural blending between traditional and modern ways will include all social categories.

It depends under what auspices the modernization does take place. We know that as a result of advanced agricultural and animal raising developments, of expanded and improved technical-material resources, and of improved organization, management, and unified planning of agriculture, the 1981-1985 period will also mark for agriculture the transition from large quantitative accumulations achieved in previous five-year plans--in the development of mechanization, chemification, irrigation, and other land improvement projects--to a new quality. This will undoubtedly be reflected in such

features as the role and status of the contemporary village, whose destiny is bound--as has already been stated--with this second basic branch of the national economy. These are positions from whose perspective we can also perceive solutions to such problems as aging in the village age structure, the feminization of the work force, and so on. But what is more, one can assume that commuting will no longer be invoked as a stress which generates delinquent behavior.

[Em. Bujor] The wealth of phenomena and process which the rural environment offers in its evolution, is reflected in its re-evaluation as part of the new concept of the village's significance in the modern socio-economic, political-cultural, and historical life, in the new content of labor and its nature, in labor relations and forces, in economic structure, as well as in the superstructure determined by new conditions which assure new functions.

[Question] The rural world, a world in urbanization, is therefore a situation which in no way implies the disappearance of the village, but on the contrary....

[A. Neculau] Definitely. But the denial of the village, the idea of its disappearance has had and still has its supporters.

[V. Miftode] A few statistics might show us, albeit indirectly, what happens when satellite phenomena are not well known, and least of all mastered, when theories are formulated in libraries, and when zone development projects are more concerned with hopes than with concrete facts. Fifteen years have passed since Henri Mendras spoke of the "end of peasantry," a period during which--according to statistics--the peasantry has not only failed to disappear, but has continued to grow in absolute figures, with no forecast of its falling into the void. On the contrary: the destiny to which Mendras condemned the peasantry in 1967, was also predicted by Henri Lefebvre in 1970--"La Revolution Urbaine," Gallimard--for the village (he begins his book with the hypothesis of a complete urbanization of society). What do the figures show, first of all where the urban phenomenon has matured? For the first time in the past 150 years, demographic growth in cities of the United States was nearly zero (0.1 percent between 1977 and 1980). The city population in 19 countries has decreased. The population of London dropped by 10 percent during 1971-1981, and in recent years, the rate of population decrease in Paris has been so great that fewer people live in the 20 central districts that did in 1876 (according the agency France Presse). In fact, a true urban exodus has been noted in the majority of large cities in England, France, the United States and so on, a phenomenon which tends to increasingly replace the rural exodus in countries that have reached a high level of economic development.

[Em. Bujor] One thing that is certain, is that the village is not exclusively agricultural, and that the city can no longer be defined solely as industrial. Contemporary realities introduce new elements, their interdependence, and their presence in both environments. The rural world is seeking a new model of life which will surpass the traditional one and will not become identified with the city; the new model cannot be reduced to the present urban model, or to the behavior of city people.

[I. Badescu] The villager is fascinated by the city, but if he could, he would not go to the city but would instead bring the city to the village. He leaves the village only if the system of local production does not motivate him at the level of urban-industrial production. In the concept of Virgil Madgearu, economic psychology is an economic regulator. But the economic psychology of the commuting peasant for instance, has not yet been studied, although it is very necessary that we know it in order to know the the commuter's position in the expanded socialist production. Taking into consideration the periodic swings between two social environments, the utilization of services required by commuting, and the type of social contacts of the commuting group, we can say that commuting is a living mode that develops a specific commuting psychology and generates its own social and even economic consequences. Is the commuter a factory worker? For the older commuter, in the 40-60 year-old age group, the center of gravity of his activity and life remains the family household. For him, the salary derived from an industrial job means an additional income beyond the income obtained by the family group from agricultural work. He does not behave as an urban industrial worker, but rather as a worker who does additional work to provide the family group with an additional income. This is totally different from the psychology of the young commuter, in the 20-40 year-old age group, who is actually an example of a social category floating between the social environment of the village and the social environment of the city, without being fully integrated either in the urban social environment or in that of the village. It is with this category of commuters that are associated a number of the negative phenomena attributed to commuting (delinquent behavior), phenomena which are the subject of interesting studies on the part of researchers. As a general rule, commuting must also be considered as a form of integration of village structures with urban-rural ones.

[Question] Retaining the village then, with all the transformations which it will undergo, it will have to formulate as an extension of traditional values, new values which will provide coherence and the framework for well developed individual and objective behavior.

[A. Neculau] A character in one of Marin Preda's books explains the immoral behavior of the peasant: when he leaves his closed environment, the social control of the village, the peasant feels anonymous and acts as if free of the laws of moral living. He feels free to ignore moral conventions because he has entered a world which is not his and which cannot constrain him. Maybe part of this explanation could also be the basis of socio-psychologic investigations into the behavior of commuters and recently urbanized people.

It should be noted that the traditional village was characterized by a certain isolation from the city and a relative economic autonomy, a situation which gave it a specific aspect with specific values, but also with real drama, of which we will only mention the revolts of 1907 as they have been chronicled in literary anthologies. By contrast, the contemporary village is characterized by extensive communication with the city (and with the world!), and by a deeper integration in the economic structure the whole country. The connection of the farthest village to the national economic circuit--through



the endowment of agriculture with modern technology and through the participation of villages in the self-supply plan--places the rural world, through the modernization of communications and housing, at the start of even greater and stormy changes, becoming a significant expression of socialist culture and civilization, to whose foundations it is making its own extremely important contribution.

[A. Neculau] A party decision was needed to reinstate the trade of peasant among the prestigious trades. But the reshaping of a social status also requires a sustained propaganda effort so that those who work in villages will perceive their profession from another angle: the viewpoint of usefulness, high technology, competence, and special aptitudes.

A qualified manpower for rural professions can be formed only in the rural environment and only from among those who are born in the village. The new generations of peasants will be proud to master a trade of which not everyone is capable.

[V. Miftode] The economic development of the country has necessarily led to a balance in relations between villages and cities, agriculture and industry, to the transformation of some villages into cities, and thereby to the development of an urban network capable of satisfying the "urban hunger" of various geographic and socioeconomic areas. But under today's circumstances and based on the experience that we have accumulated, we must couch the problems of urbanization in a different context, and reconsider the hypotheses and projects aimed at the fate of the social environment, primarily of villages, and the nature of the relations between urban and rural environments. We can consider ourselves fortunate to still have an original rural environment still essentially unaltered--at least in some areas--by the urban expansion, to still have villages that conserve a rich culture which most powerfully expresses the lengthy history of the Romanian people. We are still somewhat concerned with the personality of the Romanian village, and with what happens when in contrast to the surroundings in which it exists and grows, and especially in contrast with the organic structure of its culture and civilization, we transplant or implant into it unesthetic, tasteless urban symbols (various constructions, equipment, and systems), often devoid of functionality, for which users are often difficult to find. The peasant, as the village, reject cultural transplants, even when they are made with the best intentions. He has protected the existence of our people not only at geographical frontiers, but also at the spiritual boundaries of a specifically Romanian culture and civilization.

[Question] To think this way does not mean that we must return to sowing by hand. To protect the village does not preclude a recognition of the role played by cities, by the urban world in the history of culture and civilization, with Iasi itself being a shining example in this respect. In fact, the economic strength of the village, the condition for its sturdiness, is also a function of a scientifically oriented urbanization of extensive areas of the country. What is the impact of this phenomenon on the life of the contemporary village?

[Em. Bujor] In this enormous process of seeking new models of existence and being as part of new directions, it appears that the village, at least at first, imitates the city while overlooking that the rural environment has its own mode of life, its own knowledge, standards of moral behavior, thinking, institutions, techniques, attitudes, and so on, which are original with respect to urban ones. As a rule, the imitation takes place between groups of unequal size, from positions of inequality, in a climate which provokes diverse reactions of acceptance of a new model, or (most frequently) of rejection of the model. The question is not the need to urbanize the rural environment, to systematize rural settlements, but rather the manner and degree to which this will be done, that is, the level which it will reach and whether it will retain the nature and essence of the rural environment, the Romanian rural life, with all its implications.

[Interviewers' comments] The village-urbanization question must therefore be considered in the light of the development of Romanian society, of the party's policy of harmonious development of all counties, and of raising all of Romania's settlements to a higher level of existence as social, cultural, and economic establishments. In this respect, sociological research still has to provide answers to many questions, answers which must contribute to the achievement of a new model for the Romanian village, the latter to include not only the advanced, historical, and cultural traditions of the rural world, but also the new values of our society and the multilateral directions of our national development. In other words, the development of the rural world must take into consideration the specific circumstances of Romania's situation, incorporating all that is new and prolific to help bring the contemporary village up to the demands of the era in which we live.

This problem being an urgent one, CRONICA will discuss it in future issues. We therefore welcome the opinions of those who wish to participate in an extensive and fruitful discussion of this topic.

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## DATA ON CUZA NAVAL LYCEE

Bucharest VIATA MILITARA in Romanian Mar 83 p 12

[Article by Captain C. Struna: "Ships With Sails in the Wind"]

[Text] 1. The Overwhelming Desire. Without a doubt, the Alexandru Ioan Cuza Naval Lycee is a "nursery for sailors" where the offspring, charged with new vitality, try their wings and, like young albatrosses, soar on their first flight to the sea. The youngest sailors are like ships with their sails in the wind. Among the youthfully shy members of Class 9 there are some sailors from the Bucovina region or, even farther away, from the foot of the high plains of Maramures, who have not seen the sea very often. What do you think they do on their first leave? Filled with excitement, they go down the streets toward the seawall, but when they arrive at the water's edge they take off their caps so that they are not blown off by the wind and they listen with enchantment to the waves rolling in. Their colleagues from the upper classes pass them by soberly with the air of "old sea wolves," and they smile with superiority like people who have seen and lived through many things. Among the rocks in a secluded spot, they also stop, making sure that the "new guys" don't surprise them, and they embrace the emerald expanses with their thoughts. For all of them, the desire for the sea is consuming.

Experience in navigational exercises, either with the modern, Romanian-built ships of our maritime fleet or with the training ship take place even in the first year. Student-sergeant Gheorghe Bibirus remembers: "I was proudest and happiest when I stepped onto the deck of the famous brig, 'Mircea.' From the first time I put to sea I spent hours learning about the ship, the craft of sailing and navigation. The night of watch duty on the bow, during a storm, left quite an impression. I realized then that as future officers it will be necessary for us to fully understand shipboard mechanisms and equipment, and, as seamen, to display courage and self-sacrifice under all circumstances. We are delving ever deeper into the culture of seamanship; we know the rigging of the Stefan Cel Mare and the huge ships built today in the country's shipyards, including the hero-ship Rindunica, as well as the ship which raised and educated on its decks entire generations of naval officers."

2. An Experiment. Responsible unit commanders, well-educated and patient professors, we shall name just a few--Viorica Manoiu, Alexandru Machitescu,

Gabriela Georgescu, Ghita Marian, Eleonora Ciobanu, Cristina Tudor--skillfully direct the steps of these youngest sailors in learning and military affairs. The general atmosphere is one of work, of development of new and superior qualities in the teaching process in accordance with the duties originating in documents of the recent National Party Conference, and also in accordance with the speech of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the review meeting of the basic cadres of the armed forces. Under the direction of the Union of Communist Youth organizations, which contribute more and more to encouraging individual study and to strengthening order and discipline, the students demonstrate a growing interest in self-instruction. This brings about some good results in training under conditions of increasing exigency. In this atmosphere, the initiatives undertaken by some of the faculty members are worthy of praise. In order to explore the precious deposit of creative imagination and to offer the young sailors the wonderful possibility of dreaming and of understanding better, Professor Vladimir Balanica proposed a test: Each student was to write a science-fiction story. The "game" caught on and the professor soon found himself confronted with a heap of manuscripts from which, without exaggeration, it would have been possible to arrange a collection of short, science-fiction prose. The most remarkable work "Infrared" by student Sorin Tiron, "Albedo 039" by student Danut Topliceanu, "The Destiny of a Planet" by student Ioan Chis, etc. were published in the Lycee's magazine, "Masts on the Horizon," which received an award during the national festival, "Hymn to Romania." Also rediscovered in this experiment was the contribution of the "Young Seamen" Literary Club, coordinated by Professor Lidia Ignat and Professor Balanica, where writers between the ages of 14 and 19 like students Jan Popa, Liviu Imparat, Adnan Omer, and Florentin Munteanu, give free rein to fantasy, "navigating" toward the gates of devotion.

3. Gold for Model Ship Designers. The Lycee is a production unit in microcosm. In the working areas of the locksmith shop, the lathe shop, the woodworking shop and welding shop, men with hands of gold, like Military Master Second Class Aurel Lazaroiu, or Master Instructor Ion Oniscu, cultivate in these youngsters a love for work, and form in them the habits of good craftsmen. The Lycee has a production plan (the profit from last year exceeded half a million!) and the students produce here the necessary elements for the proper material base and spare parts for the fleet units. Captain Second Rank-Engineer Octavian Seracin, an officer with both technical and production training, showed us different devices made by the students, veritable jewels of metal. In the practical portions of the graduation examination, students in their last year take orders from the customer, draw up sketches, and put together the prototype which later goes into series production. For example, there is the pump-shaft ship's engine (student-sergeants Valeriu Moise and Nicolae Frunza), the table for the compression of injectors (student-sergeants Laurentiu Cojocaru and Iulian Balan), the remote-control station for model ships (student-sergeants Tiberiu Stanciu and Claudiu Beldiman), etc. There exists in the Lycee a permanent exhibit where items from the production process or from different circles are on display. This broad view is edifying in that it involves the creative technical potential of these young men. In the circle for electronics (headed by Engineer Ion Tudor) their inquisitive minds conceived a luminous flux translator, a device for automated control of electric motors using thyristors, a device for demonstrating the inductive tension of electric

motors, and so on. It is no insignificant matter that the students in this area are focusing now on solar panels of original design. Also in this exhibit there are creations of the technical circle for model ships, headed by Lieutenant Major Dorin Lepadatu, where the students combine passion with work, forming within themselves the skills of true artisans. In 1982, at the second large-scale competition, the national model ship championship (Group C- Models, and Group F- Powered) and at the international "Admiral Murgescu" contest for models, the Lycee won two gold medals, two silver, two bronze, and the national title through the efforts of students Georgian Melnic, Cornel Marinescu, Marius Petrache, and Iulian Cirstian. The detail and skill with which such a model is built is overwhelming. Its beauty repays in full the effort of the three years required for a student to build a cargo ship, a gunboat, or a river vessel, at a scale of one to one hundred.

4. Gold and Silver for Song Writers. No Sunday resembles another at the Lycee because of the useful and pleasant way in which the students spend their free time. Competitions between the artistic brigades, between the satirical journals, the contest "The Platoons Pass By Singing," visits to museums and historical places, evenings of dance and poetry organized in the club's pleasant atmosphere (with the participation of young ladies from the schools in town), and sporting competitions are all moments of celebration, of affirming interpretative potential, and of recreation. In the third edition of the national festival, "Hymn to Romania," this veritable nursery of talent produced abundant fruit. Refinement and good taste instilled with patience by Captain Gheorghe Radulescu, the head of the music department triumphed. Two gold medals were awarded: one to the brass band (formed by forty students) and one to the stage group (with the show, "L.M.M. [Naval Lycee] Review", words and music by Captain Radulescu, and including among the singers student sergeant Jan Popa, student private Bogdan Constantinescu, and student sergeant major Toni Axini). Two silver medals were awarded: one to the school chorus and one to the artistic brigade. In the current program these four groups trained and strengthened for fierce competition are joined by the chamber music group, a serious contender for a title.

The list of victories obtained by the spirited students of the Naval Lycee could go on: first place in the skill contest (seamanship, navigation, engines), in which the country's seven naval lycees took part; first place at the "Spring Cup" yachting regatta and second place at the national championships ("cadet" class by students Daniel Hule and Viorel Dumitrache), etc. All of these successes confirm the students' firm determination to continue seamanship's most beautiful traditions during the period when the years of childhood are changing gradually into the years of military manhood.

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## U.S. 'PROJECT DEMOCRACY', INTERNAL ANTI-COMMUNISM DENOUNCED

[Editorial Report] The 5 August 1983 issue of the LCY weekly KOMUNIST (Belgrade, pp 14-15) continues the series on the "causes, forms and strategy of anti-communism today" with an article by Zivan Berisavljevic, member of the Presidium of the Vojvodina LC, who makes the following [excerpted] comments on the "American Project Democracy" and attempts within and outside Yugoslavia to discredit the LCY:

"Now when we are discussing anti-communism it is again escalating into a hysterical form and crusade 'in defense of the free world and democracy.' It is clearly expressed in the numerous actions of the Reagan forces and the circles around him, as well as by some of his European followers. This militant anti-communism was formulated in Reagan's famous speech in the British Parliament and led to the platform [outlined] in the famous 'Project Democracy' and the statement by Schultz of 23 February 1983 in the American Senate. As the basic characteristics of the platform one should note:

--its expressly ideological character and arrogant openness;

--its pretension to impose on the plan of world history a system of moral and ideological goals in which the political philosophy of the system, as well as the value system, of the United States today is the model and "lighthouse";

--its explicit aim toward the developing countries and its implicit ideological intolerance toward all real liberation forces and movements, including also the nonaligned movement...;

--its open ideological disqualification and actual misuse of the trends in the total process of detente, especially those achieved within the CSCE;

--its lack of subtlety [discrimination] in relation to the countries of Eastern Europe, in relation to all the countries of Western Europe, and in relation to all countries which are recipients of American aid.

"I am certain that there are many people in the United States, Western Europe, and other parts of the world who are as convinced that this document discredits the real democratic values of American society as its formulators believe that it serves them. I think that the times in which such platforms arise cause justifiable concern to the forces of real progress and humanism in all countries of the world.

"This orchestrated offensive of anti-communism places in an exceptionally delicate situation the authentic socialist forces, as well as all authentic democratic, liberating and progressive forces, especially countries outside the blocs. It is a big source of the noticeable U.S. competition as a super power to re-assume or establish dominance over certain regions of the world and over sovereign states.... It contributes significantly to strengthening and consolidating organized action by various opposition forces, above all from rightist positions, within certain progressive developing countries, and within socialist countries; and it encourages the strengthening of rightist tendencies in Western Europe and throughout the world. (A clear demonstration of this is also the organized consolidation of rightist parties of Europe.)

"For these two international reasons the anti-communist pressures on Yugoslavia and the effect of these forces on our area are increasing in force. They are penetrating and infiltrating...numerous institutions of our economic and political practice, especially our public opinion, and have looked favorably on the difficulties, weaknesses and crisis elements which are burdening the present stage of our political and economic development.

"[In regard to] the Yugoslav form of anti-communism,...I personally think that one of its basic elements is the degradation of the role and constitutional position of the LC as the leading ideological-political force of Yugoslav society, and as the organizer and bearer of revolutionary changes in all stages of our revolution and as the historically established vanguard of the working class which would itself be degraded from a historical standpoint through degradation of the LCY.

"In misusing the already achieved level of democratization of our public life, ... [in misusing] the socialist self-management aim to carry on constant public confrontation and democratic dialogue regarding the large questions in the building of self-management socialism (including also criticism of mistakes, weaknesses and deformations), the forces which have undertaken to discredit the LC are questioning its ideology and practical political action, its moral credibility, and the historical source of its present role in our society. How can one otherwise explain the stubborn...open attacks on the work of Lenin and on the classics of Marxism, the...attacks on the bases of Marxism, as well as the systematic undermining of its reputation, the attacks on the person and works of Tito, Kardelj, Bakaric, and others...? How else is one to think of the numerous historical 're-evaluations' of the essence of or certain significant factors in the National Liberation War, the Yugoslav CP relations with the Comintern, and the 'negotiations' between the National Liberation Movement and the Germans, than as the historical degrading of the personality, works, and era of Tito as the basis for disputing the LCY role in the current and future development of society. Regarding these subjects a 'holy alliance' of various internal and foreign enemies of self-management socialism and the non-aligned policy of Yugoslavia is being established.... Included also in this [intention] to destabilize or at least weaken Yugoslavia to the point that it appears less consistently as self-managed and nonaligned--are some of the Bloc 'operators' of the NATO type and reactionary circles of the West which give inspiration, follow, and greatly help these 'operations' (not only propaganda-wise) through our 'traditional' (i.e., quisling) emigres and their modern 'democratic offspring'

and their bases in Yugoslavia which gather together rabid nationalists of various hues, as well as small aggressive groups of the false left, to which is added the little groups of Orthodox Stalinists and other etatist-bureaucrats as bearers and supporters of their particular counter-revolution from dogmatic rightist positions...."

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END